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OF  
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MANCHESTER

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THE LIBRARIAN  
(HENRY GUPPY)

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BULLETIN OF  
THE JOHN RYLANDS  
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MANCHESTER

EDITED  
BY THE  
LIBRARIAN  
(HENRY GUPPY)

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VOL. 16

JANUARY, 1932

No. 1

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LIBRARY NOTES AND NEWS.

THE new session of the University of Manchester opened with a number of new students well in excess of last session, whilst the number of students enrolled for the preparatory and tutorial classes held outside the walls of the University is larger than ever before.

THE  
VICTORIA  
UNIVERSITY OF  
MANCHESTER.

Seldom, if ever, before has the session opened with so large a number of new staff appointments. In addition to seven new full-time professors in the departments of English Language, German, Modern History, Geology, Pathology, and Zoology, there have been upwards of fifty new members of the University staff appointed in the various departments.

The session will be marked by some outstanding events. The Ludwig Mond Lectures will be delivered in the new year by Sir James Jeans and Sir Josiah Stamp. Dr. Wolfgang Stammer lectured in German on "Die Deutsche Literatur der Gegenwart," and Dr. Albert Mansbridge on "Margaret Macmillan, prophet and pioneer," whose biography he is writing. In connection with the Hibbert Trust four lectures were given by Dr. G. Dawes Hicks, Emeritus Professor of Philosophy in the University College, London, on "Some current problems in the philosophy of religion."

The new extension to the physical laboratories was formally opened on the 18th of November, by Lord Rutherford of Nelson, who was formerly Langworthy Professor of Physics in the University of Manchester.

The University extension courses given by Professor Pear on "Mental Hygiene," and by Professor Findlay on "The language



and life of the German people" aroused great interest, and were attended by embarrassingly large numbers of students.

The ceremony which gave the greatest pleasure to members of the University and to a wide circle of friends was the congregation which assembled on the 20th of November, when honorary degrees were conferred upon Professor Edward Fiddes and Professor F. E. Weiss.

CONFER-  
MENT OF  
HONORARY  
DEGREES.

The proceedings were opened by the Chancellor of the University, the Earl of Crawford and Balcarres, who described them as exceptional, and of great interest to the University.

"In time past," said Lord Crawford, "I have been able to confer honorary degrees upon persons famous in the world of science and the arts, upon great statesmen, and often upon men of academic distinction elsewhere, but never before upon two colleagues and friends and associates of the University, although it was not uncommon for retiring professors to receive their degrees within their own faculties. To-day the scale and perspective are wider. The University, as such, is engaged, with full ceremonial to mark the statesmanship of two of our own alumni, and to mark our profound appreciation of forty years of stable and loyal work on behalf of the University."

Lord Crawford thought that possibly the University did not always fully recognise the unremitting work necessary to maintain the poise, the movement, and the progress of a great association such as this. Here, at any rate, they would make good any deficiency in that respect.

It was peculiarly appropriate that Professor Alexander should be recalled from his well-earned retirement to present to the Chancellor the two old friends and colleagues with whom he had been associated in the councils of the University for so many years.

PROFESSOR EDWARD FIDDES : In presenting Professor Fiddes, Professor Alexander said : "The oldest branch upon the tree drops late autumnal leaves to greet the younger branches with which through nearly forty autumns it has shared the life derived from the parent stem.

"And first I present to your Lordship a man who will be remembered hereafter among the makers of our young University. In his life of teacher and scholar (and throughout his administrative years



he never ceased to be both teacher and scholar) his green unknowing youth was engaged by the dry splendours of ancient Rome ; he chose in his riper age the more romantic history of the United States. As an administrator, whether as registrar, or in his later office, expressly created for him, of suffragan Vice-Chancellor, he has played a part in every important advance that has been made, with an influence not less potent that it was latent, and that, in his self-effacing modesty, his devotion sought no reward nor even recognition. Bringing with him from the stern Scottish North an austere sense of discipline, he was yet not unbending and could adjust his mind to all ideas supported by good reasons, and to an almost exasperating soundness of judgment and mastery of detail he could add the fertility of resource which new circumstances required. Under the mask of official severity he concealed a genial and tender heart, and was unwearied in promoting the social life of students and teachers, with a success which he would himself insist not even he could have achieved without the constant and gracious co-operation of his sister. I venture to cite the words of a resolution of the Council passed on the occasion of his retirement, that 'by his character and his intimate personal relations with the various members of the whole body he has been the cement to knit together into unity a multitude of different interests.' Anticipating the judgment of the future, the University desires to honour him now in his own time."

PROFESSOR WEISS : In presenting Professor Weiss, Professor Alexander said : "I present to you another of the men who have set the University upon the road of solid achievement. By his scientific zeal and his practical skill he has made of the small department to which he was appointed as a very young professor a well-organised and flourishing school, whose buildings have increased to a large and well-equipped laboratory of botany, under the same directing care as the little greenhouse which once adorned the Beyer building and was known, by an uncensorious metaphor, as the hotbed of vice, has grown into the experimental gardens at Fallowfield. Encouraging investigation amongst his students, he has under all the distractions of general administration steadily pursued his own, whether as became the successor of Williamson he added to our knowledge of stigmaria and other fossil plants of the coal-measures, or as became a gardener and field-naturalist to that of graft hybrid growths between the medlar and

the hawthorn, or the dispersal by ants of the seeds of whin and broom. He has been a missionary of botany outside the University, and the man of science who now holds the important office of president of the Linnæan Society was once proud to foster the work of field-naturalists of the district, and to discourse of plants to school teachers and to working men.

"Nor has he served the University only as a botanist, but has been a pillar of state whose wisdom and initiative have been indispensable and incessantly employed in Senate and Council, and who was for two anxious and difficult years the executive head of the University as its Vice-Chancellor. The tact and conciliatory spirit of his administrative work were all the more remarkable that, like Diomed in the *Iliad*, though small of stature he is a fighting man. And not less concerned than himself in the general welfare has been his lady herself, the bearer of a name honoured in the political life of the country, who has shown how much the wife of an official or teacher can contribute, over and above special work within the University, to the delight and refreshment of the common life.

"I began with a remark which referred to both these men, and I will end with another : that the grave and impersonal recital of their services has left me but this little room to record, what I will by no means leave unrecorded, the deep affection entertained for them both by all parts of the University, officials and teachers, students and colleagues, and not least by me in whose favour the privilege of presenting them to your lordship has been so generously waived."

Dr. Fiddes, in acknowledging the honour that had been conferred upon him said : "It will be a day I shall always remember as one of great honour." He stood before the University as an administrator, he continued, and one whom, he hoped, had always kept in view the fact that administration was only a means to an end : the advancement of learning. An administrator could do several things to this end. He could see that the machine worked smoothly and could preserve its constitution from the attacks of enthusiastic colleagues. He could help in the extension of the machine and its adaptation to new use. He could also help in the most vital act of the University, the securing of the best teachers. The proceedings that day were to him another instance of the great kindness and friendliness of Manchester, which stood first, in his mind, in that respect.

Dr. Weiss also expressed his thanks to the University. "If anything could have added to the pleasure which this very moving ceremony could have given me it is that the University is also honouring my friend Dr Fiddes." He recalled his first meeting with him in 1892 and the thirty-eight years which they had spent together at the University. He had had the opportunity now, he said, of hearing what his old friend Professor Alexander thought of his service. It was a portrait in very flattering colours. "I would not like to insinuate that he is not perfectly truthful," he said, "but I would like to say that as an artist he belongs to the impressionist school. They may be portraits which can be recognised, but not so easily by myself.

"You have bound me permanently to the University. The bonds of affection which have always held me have been strengthened, and I shall hope that I may, in this capacity, be connected in this way still and may accomplish some of the things I omitted to do when upon active service."

The decision to commemorate Professor C. H. Herford's service to Dante scholarship and to the understanding of Italian literature in general, by the establishment of a Herford Memorial Lecture, was the result of a combined effort on the part of the members of the Manchester Dante Society, of which Professor Herford was president for six years after the death of Bishop Casartelli, who founded it in 1906, and the British Italian League, which has done so much to strengthen the bond which has always united the two nations it represents.

HERFORD  
MEMORIAL  
LECTURE.

The appeal of the two societies: "to all who admired Professor Herford's work in the field of European culture," proved so successful that arrangements have been made for the lecture to be delivered annually, on the subject of Dante or some other great figure in Italian literature.

The first lecture was delivered at the University of Manchester, on the 22nd of October, by Dr. E. A. Gardner, Professor of Italian in the University of London, who from 1919 to 1923 was Professor of Italian Studies in the University of Manchester. In the course of his lecture Professor Gardner remarked that Professor Herford could not perhaps be called an Italian scholar in the pedantic sense of the word.



His mind had not ranged over the whole field of Italian literature as it had ranged over that of Classic and of German literature, to say nothing of English. Certain questions which were proving of absorbing interest to Italian scholars at the present time would have left him, he felt sure, quite cold. He approached Italian literature not as the specialist nor as the professed scholar, but with his great critical insight and his wide learning he often illumined Dantesque literature with a flash of light which was only infrequently cast by the specialists.

Professor Gardner considered that Professor Herford's most substantial contribution to Italian studies was his essay on Dante and Milton (delivered as a lecture in the John Rylands Library, 14th March, 1923), and he suggested that it was difficult to find anywhere so powerful and suggestive a treatment of analogies and contrasts between two of the world's greatest poets. After referring to the essay in considerable detail Professor Gardner also dealt at length with Professor Herford's latest book on Wordsworth and on his interesting, instructive, and novel comparison of the two poets' treatment of nature.

Professor Gardner observed in conclusion that he realised that Professor Herford disagreed with his own view of recent events in Italy; in particular with his conviction that the Fascist revolution had opened up a new era for Italy and, he profoundly hoped, for all Europe, which would guide us along lines of peace and progress. "But in the heaven of the lovers of Italy," he added, "there are many mansions, and one undoubtedly belongs to Charles Harold Herford."

To students of early church history and doctrine the present issue of the BULLETIN will be of exceptional interest and importance by reason of the publication in its pages of the first part of "The Book of Faith," one of the writings of Bishop Theodore of Mopsuestia which had been lost to Western readers for upwards of fifteen hundred years.

THEODORE  
OF MOP-  
SUESTIA.

The manuscripts from which the Syriac text of this work has been edited and translated by Dr. Mingana belong to a considerable group of Syriac and other Eastern manuscripts discovered in the course of an extended journey to the East, which he undertook a few years ago, in search of such treasures.

The work, as Dr. Mingana points out in his introduction, is a commentary on the Nicene Creed, which covers the whole field of



Christian religion, and amongst other subjects the Trinity and the Incarnation are dealt with in much detail.

It may not be out of place, in these notes, to remind readers that Theodore was one of the most famous exegetical scholars and profound thinkers of the early church. He was born about 350 A.D. at Antioch, and became the early companion of St. Chrysostom, who was his senior by two or three years, and he never allowed any difficulty or trouble to diminish the strength of his early affection for the friend of his youth, even after that friend had been banished to Cucusus. He was the pupil of Libanus, although it was from Diodorus of Tarsus that he imbibed his zeal for Biblical studies. Towards the end of the fourth century he was consecrated Bishop of Mopsuestia, and died in 428 A.D.

Theodore's long episcopate was marked by no striking incidents. His literary activity was very considerable, for one writer speaks of his works as innumerable, and a catalogue of such of his Biblical writings alone as were once extant in Syriac translation states that they filled forty-one large volumes. Notwithstanding this activity Theodore worked zealously for the good of his diocese and not only converted Mopsuestia to the truth but extinguished Arianism and other heresies there. Everywhere, in fact, he was regarded as the herald of the truth and the Doctor of the Church.

The heretical sects who were attacked by Theodore showed their resentment in a multitude of ways, but especially by tampering with his writings so as to involve him in heterodox statements. His last years were perplexed by a new controversy, the Pelagian Question.

Theodore died towards the end of 428, worn out by fifty years of literary and pastoral toil. Throughout his active life he had been engaged in controversy, and more than once in conflict with the popular notions of orthodoxy, yet he departed in peace at the height of his reputation. The storm, however, was gathering although it did not break until he had gone.

Theodore's popularity was increased in Antioch and in the churches of the East by his death, but scarcely had he been laid to rest, when in other quarters men began to hold up his name to obloquy. He was denounced as the real author of the Pelagian heresy, and was violently attacked as the precursor of Nestorianism; and after a century of fanatical agitation his polemical writings, which seem to have

offended by a characteristically sober tone, were formally condemned by Justinian in the council of the "Three Chapters." Indeed it may be said that Theodore was directly responsible for the three general councils of the church : of Ephesus (431), of Chalcedon (451), and of the "Three Chapters" (Constantinople 553), for it was in the first and the second that Nestorianism, which was based upon Theodore's teaching, was discussed and condemned, whilst the last named was even more directly concerned with Theodore.

The Council of Ephesus condemned Nestorius by name, and also the creed of Theodore without mention of his name. As a consequence the Nestorian party fell back upon the works of Theodore and began to circulate them in several languages as affording the best exposition of his views. This appears to have deepened the mistrust of the orthodox, and the teaching of Theodore was condemned.

Had Theodore been still alive he would have been anathematized, but, as he had gone to his account, it was considered to be enough to condemn the errors of his books, having regard to the terrible disturbance which more extreme measures would excite in the East.

The ferment subsided for a time, but the admirers of Theodore repulsed in the West pushed their way from Eastern Syria into Persia, where the Persian Kings favoured a movement which was distasteful to the Empire. Henceforth Persia became the headquarters of Nestorianism, and the writings of Theodore were regarded as the standard of doctrine and of interpretation, and the Persian church even ventured to return the censure of the orthodox by pronouncing an anathema on all who opposed or objected.

The sixth century witnessed another and final outbreak of the bitter hatred which had pursued Theodore into the grave. One hundred and twenty-five years after his death the Fifth General Council (of the "Three Chapters") under the influence of Justinian pronounced on Theodore the anathema which the earlier Emperor Theodosius had refused to sanction. This condemnation shook the fabric of the Catholic Church.

There was rebellion against a decree that violated the dead. The Emperor was told that he had asked them to condemn men of whose writings they knew nothing, and this stir led to an enquiry, with the result that Theodore's works or portions of them were translated and circulated in the West, and it is due to this cause that we owe the

preservation in Latin of a portion of his commentary on St. Paul. Other works under various disguises passed from Africa into Europe, but the name of Theodore disappears almost entirely from Western Church literature after the sixth century.

Dr. Mingana has rendered an immense service to students of early Christian doctrine by thus recovering and making available, not only in the Syriac version but in an English translation, one of the most precious relics of early Christian literature, and one of the most important of the writings of this eminent scholar and divine of the early church, which have been lost for so many centuries.

Students of English literature will be interested in three articles in the present issue which are based upon letters and manuscripts in the recently acquired Piozzi collection to which reference was made in our last issue.

LETTERS  
OF DR.  
JOHNSON.

Mr. J. D. Wright prints a number of letters from Dr. Johnson to Mrs. Thrale, together with several letters to Johnson from various correspondents. These letters are another important addition to the several valuable collections of Johnson letters brought to light during the last few years, of which mention may be made of Johnson's letters to Queeney (Hester Maria Thrale), which Lord Lansdowne is about to publish; of a collection of letters from Johnson to Dr. Taylor of Ashbourne; and of the numerous letters reproduced *in extenso* in the three-volume catalogue of *The R. B. Adam Library relating to Dr. Samuel Johnson and his Era*.

Mr. M. Zamick edits *Three Dialogues on the Death of Hester Lynch Thrale, written in August, 1779*, from the manuscript in Mrs. Thrale's handwriting, hitherto unpublished and unrecorded.

MRS.  
THRALE'S  
THREE DIA-  
LOGUES

It is hoped that further unpublished works of Mrs. Thrale will appear in print in the near future. A brief description of the manuscripts in the Library, and some references to others to be found elsewhere was given in the last BULLETIN. It is possible that several others, and they among the most important, are still in existence. That they once existed is evident from several leaves torn from a quarto MS. note-book written by Mrs. Thrale in 1770, and three other leaves torn from a smaller MS. note-book evidently written by the same hand before Johnson's death.

These leaves are among various miscellaneous prose fragments in the Library. The contents of one leaf (originally pages 96-97) of the larger work, which are given here, relate to Goldsmith, Arthur Murphy, and James Harris, the author of *Hermes, or a Philosophical Inquiry concerning Universal Grammar*, and clearly indicate the importance of the lost MS., evidently either a forerunner of *Thraliana* or an early commonplace Book :

JOHNSON  
AND GOLD-  
SMITH.

. . . Delicacy on the other, but Johnson (for he was by) would not suffer it to go off so, and said the Dr. was only awed from fear of a reply, for continued he, were Goldsmith to light on a dumb man he would be wonderfully severe on him—this blow Murphy follow'd so closely, and struck the little Dr. so forcibly and so repeatedly that though I saw that day & have often seen Instances of his Malevolent disposition, made still more acrimonious from his unequall'd rage of shining in Conversation I could not help pitying him when I saw him so humbled under the lash of a man who though so far superior to him in Friendship Honour & every manly Virtue, in Person, Address, and every pleasing Quality, is not to be compar'd with him as a Writer, nor will be set in Competition with him by Posterity.—Poor little Dr. how he does disgrace himself! and disgrace those Parts but for the possession of which even the Dog would be in haste to forsake his Company. 16 : Sep: 1770.

James Harris carried his Election, and served in Parliament : Who is he says Charles Townsend? the famous James Harris, replies one, he who wrote one book about *Grammar* and another about *Virtue*. A Blockhead, cries Townsend, he'll find neither Grammar nor Virtue here.

The smaller manuscript was evidently the basis of her *Anecdotes of the late Samuel Johnson, LL.D.*, but was very considerably altered before publication. One leaf contains the following description :

These Anecdotes are put down in a wild way just as I received or could catch 'em from Mr. Johnsons Conversation, but I mean one day or another to digest and place them in some order, as the poor Egyptian gather'd up the relicks of a broken Boat and burning them by himself upon the Beach said he was forming a Funeral Pile in honour of the great Pompey—may (that day *crossed out*) it be long before (it *crossed out*) that day comes.

The remaining fragments are as follows :

. . . he thought however from the pain he felt (bein)g Ill, that the Immortality of the soul (brings) with it a pretty strong Conviction, and (at) that time resolving to be a Christian (bec)ame indeed the most zealous and pious (that) I ever knew, and, says he, never related (this)



anecdote of himself to any Person (living) except to his Wife, to a Doctor Taylor he ( . . . ) loved extremely and to me, not even to my (husband).—Dear Bathurst<sup>1</sup> was his Expression. (Spe)aking once of his friendly affection for me, (he s)aid kindly, I do certainly love you better (tha)n any human Being I ever saw,—better I th(ink) than even poor dear Bathurst, and esteem you more, though that would be unjust too, for I have never seen you in distress, and till I have I cannot rank you with a Man who acted in such trying situations with such uniformity of Virtue. You would, added he, have lov'd Bathurst as well as I did, if I would have suffer'd you ever to see him, but that I would never have done. I shou(l)d have) lost somewhat of each of you.—(I knew Mr.) Johnson too well to mind this tho',—He ( . . . ) in a more expanded manner than so: (and I) wished I'm sure that I cou'd have seen ( . . . ) Bathurst,—he knew I cou'd have p(re)ferred no Man's Conversation to his.—(Johnson's) manners were very rough, he said the(y) grew much more gentle by keeping ( . . . ) company, and I believe they did for (every)body said so. We lived on so very inti(mate) a footing that I remember he said one d(ay) at Brighthelmstone, Our Life glides away in your scolding me or my scolding you—it answers however that's certain for both improve. He bid me one day, it was in the year 68, always carry some little Book in my pocket and take it out at odd Times when nothing else was going forward, it has been by that means chiefly, added he, (that a)ll my knowledge has been gained ex(cept w)hat I have pick'd up by running (about) the World with my Eyes open to Obser(vation); A man is seldom in a humour to ( . . . ) his Bookcase, set his Desk and (devot)e himself seriously to Study, but a (reten)tive memory will answer all ( . . . ) and a fellow shall have strange Credit (shew)n him for Knowledge, if he can but (rem)ember striking Passages from various (Boo)ks, and keep the Authors separate in (his) Head.

Mr. Johnson's favourite observation was on the vacuity of Life, and (a)lmost every thing that happen'd seem'd (t)o fall out on purpose to encourage him in this opinion, which he was on all occasions perpetually urging: One was vicious—follow'd Women or drank Drams in a Corner—he was Idle, says Johnson, and Life must be fill'd up, a man must do some thing and he could think of nothing good that was good to do. Another was ac(tive in) the management of her Servants and (care)ful in Domestic (Economy)—why so(mething) must be done, says Johnson, and what s(o easy) to a narrow mind as hoarding Half(pennies) till they turn into Silver. Anoth(er was) eminent for Maternal Tenderness an(d par)ticularly diligent in instructing h(er) children. Why Madam Life must be fill'd up says our Philosopher, and Health or Circumstances perhaps p(re)vented her mingling among the tu(mul)tuous Pleasures of the World. Ano(ther) loved his Friend.—He had nothing else (to) do says Johnson,—set him behind a mea(n) Cou(n)ter to earn his Bread by his diligent attention to the Shop, or give him ten thousand a year and make him run from Rehearsal to Opera

<sup>1</sup> Dr. Richard Bathurst.

from Opera to Almacks and see then if his friend will soon be forgotten.—Yet he liked one should mix with the multitude and used to recommend cards visiting (*ends*).

The third article by Mr. W. W. Roberts makes a considerable contribution to our knowledge of the relations of the Burney family with Mrs. Thrale. He quotes many passages from hitherto undiscovered letters from Charles and Fanny Burney, and several from the large collection of letters sent to Mrs. Piozzi from 1807 onwards by Fanny Burney's niece the "blue-stocking," Marianne Francis. Our knowledge of Miss Francis, the friend and enthusiastic admirer of Wilberforce and the secretary for some time of the agriculturalist, Arthur Young, does not at present extend beyond the year 1821. What was her later history? Do Mrs. Piozzi's letters to her, which she clearly treasured greatly, still survive? These letters must have been of exceptional interest, for Miss Francis is constantly asking Mrs. Piozzi's opinion of old and new authors and their works, she was evidently the recipient of many confidences, and the literary gossip in which she revelled must have provoked many reminiscences of the Streatham circle. There is, for instance, the following story of Lady Rothes and Boswell in a letter of August 6, 1810 :

Your model *is* like the Snail's shell, dearest Mrs. Piozzi ; and having example & precept & all—if my hand does not mend, you must think me a most *hardened* Sinner. Not so bad though as Boswell, I hope, of whom I heard a story the other day that I cannot refrain from telling you. In his Life he tells an Anecdote of Lady Rothes (One of the *3* I am not quite clear *which*) that she gave a dinner—& Johnson was there—and a Mango—that this Mango cost 2 shillings and was not allowed to be cut &c. &c. Lady Rothes, angry with Boswell for printing such stuff about her dinner—all a *lie* too, asked him what he meant, & why he printed what he *knew* to be untrue. "O said Boswell (who deserved to be flogged for his impudence) in telling a Story, one is *forced* to embroider it a little—like putting trees in a Landscape, that's all." "Trees in a *Scotch* Landscape though which completely alter the character of the Scenery" *should* have been the answer, as Mrs. Barker said who told me the tale, wh. she had from Lady Rothes herself. Boswell deserved to be flogged for his impudence, *at least*,—& one may guess from this, what credit is due to his relations in general.

MARIANNE  
FRANCIS.

LADY  
ROTHES  
AND  
BOSWELL.

In another letter Miss Francis retails at length the gossip of her friend George Cambridge, archdeacon of Middlesex, son of Richard

Owen Cambridge, who "was acquainted with everybody black and blue that lived in his Father's time." Cambridge has much to tell of the flirtations of Sophia Streatfield. "Of course," writes Miss Francis, "I gave no hint of the Stories *you* told me of the Sorceress." She even ventures to repeat a story of the archdeacon's about Susan Thrale, who had made a deep impression on the "sailor-like heart" of a young officer at a party on board the *Triumph*. Over the wine he was "roasted finely" by the men: "They all advised him to *follow her up*.—'A fine girl and a fine fortune,' said they,—'You'd be a fine fool to let her go.'—The Man leaned his elbow upon the table, in most thoughtful guise and seemed seriously debating in his own mind pro and con for some time—at length he started up with a determined face, clapped his hands—'No,' said he—'I'd rather have a good war!' And saw Miss Thrale no more."

Another typical letter of this period, sent on March 21, 1811, has the following passage relating to Sir Walter Scott, in whom she took a great interest:

My eyes obey rather reluctantly—and are very impatient of being employed long at a time, requiring to be *baited* like Horses, at every Stage, as sparing of their services as a Miser of his money. However, I *have* read a little: Johnson's Letters, and the Synonymes, and King, with the *Notes*, which delight me; sometimes *approving*, sometimes *disproving*, always *improving* the Text. And written so beautifully—with a crow quill I suppose, or a *fairy quill*—I can come at nothing but the quill of a *goose*—see the result. There is *one* person in the world that writes worse, though, than I do: Lydia White. You know her; She is here in Mountagu Square, inquires sedulously when you come, and swears she *will* see you, and talk about Walter Scott. I fancy she went to Scotland on purpose to see him and succeeded wonderfully well, for he wrote the Lady of the Lake at *her* instigation, she says; the thought first occurring in *her* carriage, taking a drive with *her* to shew *her* the beauty of the adjacent country. She urged a *revisal* of his works as much as decency would permit—Walter Scott truly and sensibly replied "I am like a drunken man, Maam; can neither *stand* nor *walk*, but I *can run*"—and on he *will* run, I dare say, "in omne volubilis ævum"—*now* they say in the cave of Fingal coming out with "a Pictish Story." While this is contriving out comes another book to stop People's mouths in the meantime, or rather to amuse them by furnishing matter for conversation; for we live, as Hannah More says, in an age which *must* be *amused*, though Learning, Genius, Truth and Feeling be the Sacrifice. The *Curses of Kehama* then, by Southey, will succeed very well.

Friends of Sir Walter Scott need no introduction to Miss Lydia White.<sup>1</sup> In a letter of June 9, 1808, to Lady Louisa Stuart, Scott writes: "A crazy Welshwoman is come to see our romantic scenery. . . . She is a certain Miss Lydia White, nineteen times dyed blue, lively and clever and absurd to the uttermost degree, but exceedingly good natured."

Miss Francis's later letters show strongly she felt the influence of such friends as Wilberforce and Hannah More, and Mrs. Piozzi's replies would no doubt be interesting. We will venture one more quotation, taken from a letter dated August 5, 1816:

I am more & more convinced, every day, that our happiness depends on what we make the object of life; & that none can be safe or happy either here or hereafter, who do not make it the end of their existence to glorify God & to work out their own salvation. Perhaps there is no way more likely to please God, than to endeavour to be of use to our fellow creatures, especially in endeavouring to promote the spread of real religion in all around us. For to attend to their temporal & to neglect their spiritual & external interests, seems, surely, preposterous, considering them as immortal Beings: To this purpose, we have schools here without end, & weekly readings to the Poor People in their Cottages; & I am now endeavouring to contrive an Adult school for the 3 neighbouring Villages to teach the old People to read the Bible, & they promise to attend. They have but little comfort in this life at any time; & just now, there is a much greater proportion of poverty & distress even than usual, therefore it seems but reasonable & common humanity to try and direct their attention to a source of comfort which never fails, & to enable them to read that book, which explains the road to Heaven, "in which a way-faring man though a Fool, shall not err." This *last* part you will say is particularly happy considering the proportion of Fools to Wise.

The Library has recently acquired yet another link with Mrs. Piozzi, in the shape of William Dodd's "Commentary on the Books of the Old and New Testament," *London*, 1770, in three folio volumes. The volumes contain numerous marginal notes in the handwriting of Mrs. Piozzi, and an

ANOTHER  
PIOZZI  
RELIC.

<sup>1</sup> We are tempted to borrow a quotation, given by T. H. Darlow in *William Robertson Nicoll, Life and Letters*, from an article by Claudius Clear (W. R. Nicoll) in the *British Weekly*: "What really tests knowledge is information about inconsiderable yet conspicuous people. Thus, if I were examining on the literary history of the early years of last century, I should put but one question, 'What do you know of Lydia White?' Whoever could answer satisfactorily would have a full knowledge of the literary history of the period."



inscription requesting Sir James Fellowes, at her death, to accept these three volumes. Sir James Fellowes was the executor of Mrs. Piozzi, and in the recently acquired collection of letters are many in his handwriting.

It may be recalled that William Dodd, who was Archdeacon of Brecon and Chaplain-in-ordinary to the King, was celebrated as a popular preacher, an encourager of charitable institutions, and the author of a variety of works, mainly theological. Having contracted expensive habits of living, in an evil hour, when pressed for money, and fearing exposure of his circumstances, he forged a deed to support his credit, with the hope that he might be able to repay without being detected. The person whose name he forged was the Earl of Chesterfield to whom he had been tutor, and who, he flattered himself, would generously pay the money rather than suffer him to fall a victim to the dreadful consequences of violating the law against forgery, which was punishable with death. Unfortunately, the noble pupil appeared against his tutor and he was sentenced to death.

Although Dr. Johnson had but a very slight acquaintance with Dodd, having been but once in his company, he was persuaded to do what he could to obtain for him the Royal mercy. He wrote Dodd's speech to the Recorder of London at the Old Bailey when sentence of death was about to be pronounced. Dr. Johnson also wrote "The Convict's adieu to his unhappy Brethren," a sermon preached by Dr. Dodd in the chapel of Newgate; and made other ineffectual attempts including an appeal to the King for clemency. Notwithstanding all these efforts Dr. Dodd was executed in 1777, in opposition to the recommendation of the jury, the petition of the City of London, and a subsequent petition signed by 23,000 people.

Recent manuscript accessions to the Library include a number of letters relating to eighteenth century political affairs, with part of the correspondence of Henry Bilson-Legge, Chancellor of the Exchequer under the elder Pitt; several letters from John Ruskin; many notes by the late William Farrer, evidently in preparation for a further volume of his *Honors and Knights Fees* (these were kindly presented by his daughter, Mrs. Petrie); and many hundreds of Lancashire deeds, mainly from the seventeenth century onwards.

OTHER  
MANU.  
SCRIPT  
ADDITIONS.

The collected volume of Biblical studies by the late Professor A. S. Peake, which was announced as in active preparation in the last issue of the BULLETIN, has since been published. Most of the studies were given originally in the form of lectures, and have already appeared in print in the pages of this BULLETIN. They have been republished in response to the oft-repeated desire to see them brought together in some more accessible and permanent form.

PEAKE'S  
BIBLICAL  
STUDIES.

The value and interest of the volume has been considerably enhanced by the inclusion in it of the three lectures on "The Servant of Yahweh" which have not hitherto appeared in print. They were delivered for the University of London at King's College, shortly before Dr. Peake's death, and present the most admirable summary of the many interpretations of that elusive character, "The Servant," that is to be found, and the strongest defence of the view which sees in "The Servant" the actual Israel.

There is a certain atmosphere of melancholy surrounding this publication, for the material in it would have been used in the long-awaited commentary on Isaiah and in the big book on St. Paul of which the author's death has deprived us.

The volume is published for the Governors of the Library by the Manchester University Press under the title: "THE SERVANT OF YAHWEH . . . together with the Rylands Lectures on Old Testament and New Testament Subjects," in 8vo. (pp. xx, 365), with portrait, price six shillings net in cloth binding (postage 6d.). (Copies may be obtained also from the Librarian.)

The following list represents the usual selection of the works of current literature which have been added to the shelves of the library during the six months which have elapsed since the publication of our last issue.

RECENT  
ACCES-  
SIONS TO  
THE  
LIBRARY.

ART: "CORPUS VASORUM antiquorum: Great Britain, 9: Oxford Ashmolean; Danemark, 4," Fol.; "COMMEMORATIVE CATALOGUE of the Exhibition of Italian Art . . . at Burlington House, 1930, edited by Lord Balniel and K. Clark," 2 vols., Fol.; HACKEL (A.), "Die Trinität in der Kunst," 8vo; HATCH (W. H. Paine), "Greek and Syrian miniatures in Jerusalem," 71 reproductions, 4to; HEAL (Ambrose), "The English writing

masters and their copy books, 1570-1800 : a biographical dictionary and a bibliography with historical introduction on the development of English handwriting by S. Morison," Fol. ; MARLE (R. Van), "The development of the Italian Schools of Painting, vol. 12 : Renaissance painters of Florence in the 15th century," 8vo ; MARTIN (A.), "Le livre illustré en France au XV<sup>e</sup> siècle," 8vo ; REINACH (S.), "Répertoire de la statuaire grecque et romaine," tome 6, 8vo ; TIZAC (H. d'Ardenne de), "La sculpture chinoise," 8vo.

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## SOME UNPUBLISHED LETTERS TO AND FROM DR. JOHNSON.

FROM THE ORIGINALS NOW IN THE POSSESSION OF THE JOHN  
RYLANDS LIBRARY.

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**T**WENTY-EIGHT letters are now printed from the Rylands Thrale Manuscripts. They consist of two principal divisions : I.-XX., letters from Johnson ; XXI.-XXVII., letters to or about Johnson. In the first division nineteen are from Johnson to Mrs. Thrale, and the Latin letter XX. may be so. In this division there is a large proportion of valetudinary correspondence, which may be found, to use Boswell's words, "a mournful recital." An unsigned French letter of unusual tone (I.) offers plenty of scope for conjecture, and letters VIII.-XVI., though too fragmentary a record, throw light on a critical period in the relations of Johnson and Mrs. Thrale, from November 30, 1782, to March 31, 1783. In the second division letters XXII.-XXVII. are from various correspondents to Johnson. Two interesting correspondents come to light in S. J. C. Pratt and John Burton, and Johnson stands out as the helper of stranger and friend in their need. Letter XXI. is a kindly note from Tom Davies to Mrs. Thrale about Johnson's stroke of June, 1783. Letter XXVIII. has been printed for its historical value more than because it can be assigned with confidence to the correspondence of Johnson. Besides these letters there are in the Thrale Manuscripts a few miscellanea in Johnson's handwriting, and of these notes are given after the letter text. A commentary has been added with the object of linking up the letters now printed with the published records of Johnson's life and letters, and of developing some points of general interest. References to Johnson's

published works are to the standard editions of Birkbeck Hill, and in the case of Hayward's *Mrs. Piozzi*, to the second edition.

I am indebted to Dr. Tyson for invaluable help in deciphering the text and for making available his knowledge of other unpublished Thrale Manuscripts.

*Letter I.*

MADAME TRÉS HONORÉE

[Undated and unsigned]

Puisque, pendant que je me trouve chez vous, il faut passer, tous les jours, plusieurs heures dans une solitude profonde, dites moi, Si vous voulez que je vogue (sic) a plein abandon, ou que je me contienne dans des bornes prescrites. S'il vous plait, ma tres chere maitresse, que je sois lassé a hazard. La chose est faite. Vous vous souvenez<sup>1</sup> de la sagesse de nôtre ami, *Si je ferai &c.* Mais, si ce n'est trop d'esperer que je puisse être digne, comme auparavant, des soins et de la protection d'une ame si aimable par sa douceur, et si venerable par son elevation, accordez moi, par un petit ecrit, la connoissance de ce que m'est permis, et que m'est interdit. Et s'il vous semble mieux que je demeure dans un certain lieu, je vous supplie de m'epargner la necessité de me contraindre, en m'ôtant le pouvoir de sortir d'ou vou (sic) voulez que je sois. Ce que vous ne coûtera que la peine de tourner le clef dans la porte, deux fois par jour. Il faut agir tout a fait en Maitresse, afin que vôtre jugement et vôtre vigilance viennent a secours de ma faiblesse.

Pour ce que regarde la table, j'espere tout de vôtre sagesse et je crains tout de vôtre douceur. Tournez, Madame tres honorée vos pensées<sup>2</sup> de ce côté la. Il n'y a pour vous rien de difficile; vous pourrez inventer une regime praticable sans bruit, et efficace sans peril.

Est ce trop de demander d'une ame belle qu'est la vôtre, que, maitresse des autres, elle devienne maitresse de soy-même, et qu'elle triomphe de cette inconstance, qui a fait si souvent, qu'elle a negligée<sup>2</sup> l'exécution de ses propres lois, qu'elle a oubliée tant de promesses, et qu'elle m'a condamné a tant de sollicitations reiterées<sup>2</sup> que la resouven-

<sup>1</sup> Altered from *souvenez*.

<sup>2</sup> Accent doubtful.

ance me fait horreur. Il faut ou accorder, ou refuser ; il faut se souvenir de ce qu'on accorde. Je souhaite, ma patronne, que vôtre autorité me soit toujours sensible, et que vous me tienez dans l'esclavage que vous (sic) sçavez si bien rendre heureuse

Permettez moi l'honneur d'être

Madame

Vôtre très obeissant serviteur

*Letter II.*

DEAR MADAM

I will be ready for you when you call, do not let that trouble you. It does not appear that Mr B :<sup>1</sup> wants to see us separately from Mr C :<sup>2</sup> He wants to see us all together, as he must, sometime do, and nothing is necessary but to commission Mr Perkins to let him know that we shall all be *ready* to meet him, upon any time which he shall appoint, Mr P.<sup>3</sup> has probably something to say, respecting his own particular hopes and fears, which he naturally wishes to tell you, and which it can do you no harm to hear, but we shall perhaps to morrow hear it together, for, next to you, he, I believe, thinks me his friend.

In a negotiation of such importance we must expect something of artifice, but less has yet appeared than is practiced upon much slighter occasions. Keep P.<sup>3</sup> in as good humour as you can. Much must depend upon his representation.—Remember that you are to call to morrow for,

Madam,

Your most humble servant,

SAM: JOHNSON.

May 22. 1781.

*Letter III.*

DEAR MADAM

I wrote my complaint to Dr Laurence,<sup>4</sup> and then went to him. A Chirurgeon was called, and sixteen ounces taken away. I

<sup>1</sup> Barclay.

<sup>2</sup> Crutchley or Cator, two of Thrale's executors. Perhaps Crutchley, as Mrs. Thrale writes, "Mr. Crutchley lives now a great deal with me; the business of executor to Mr. Thrale's will makes much of his attendance necessary." Hayward, *Mrs. Piozzi*, i. 143.

<sup>3</sup> Perkins.

<sup>4</sup> Lawrence, Thomas, physician. *D.N.B.* and *Life and Letters*, *passim*.



durst not have done so much by myself, but it was right. I had no faintness though I fasted, and had an Elysian night compared to some nights past.

I am

Madam

Jan 6. 1782

To Mrs Thrale.

Your most obedient servant

SAM: JOHNSON

*Letter IV.*

MADAM

This last Phlebotomy has, I think, done what was wanted, and what would have been done at first with a little courage. But a little cold chills me, and a little chill renews the cough. I took diacodium last night, and repented. To night I hope to be wiser, but who can answer for himself till night.

I hear, dear Madam, that you are not well, pray take you care. Set me right with Sir Richard,<sup>1</sup> whom I cannot guess how I offended. I will come back to you as soon as is fit, but I am to be here on Wednesday. I hope however to see you sooner.

I am,

Madam,

March 16. 1782

To Mrs Thrale.

Your most humble servant

SAM: JOHNSON

*Letter V*

DEAR MADAM

When you left me you know how I was, and, I hope, you do not think that by leaving me you made me better. I took scarcely anything but physick, and was troubled with a very frequent and violent cough, my lungs however seem to be set at ease. Barley sugar did me some good, but I took diacodium which gave me quiet but hindred sleep.<sup>2</sup> I think myself upon the whole so much better, that I hope to be soon *sur le pavé*, and then will I try to find Streatham, and

<sup>1</sup> Sir Richard Jebb, who had called at Bolt Court on 20 Feb., and who visited Johnson again on 4 June, when Johnson wrote, "This morning to my bed-side came dear Sir Richard." *Letters*, ii. 245, 255.

<sup>2</sup> On 18 March, 1782, Johnson mentions "frequent opiates, which ke me waking in the night and drowsy the next day." *Letters*, ii. 246, n. 3.

then—my dearest Lady—I hope to be better than I have lately been, though I cannot be more

May 7. 1782  
To Mrs Thrale

Dear Madam,  
Your most humble servant,  
SAM: JOHNSON.

*Letter VI.*

DEAREST LADY

May 9. 1782

Since bleeding and a weak opiate I am more at ease, and my present scheme is to go to the warm bath<sup>1</sup> to morrow,<sup>2</sup> and to Stretham on Saturday.

Poor Dr Laurence followed me home in a chair. He is very bad,<sup>3</sup> but then he can tell of somebody worse.

Keep well, my dearest Lady,

To Mrs Thrale.

I am &c  
SAM: JOHNSON.

*Letter VII.*

DEAR MADAM

I had such a night, that there are few better. My cough is very much abated, but now I am risen, I feel little alacrity, but that may return. I took physick yesterday of the strongest sort, which made me uneasy, but, I think, did me good.

I have no mind of a journey, and had rather not go.<sup>4</sup> If you please to call on me, you will find me

June 7. 1782  
London  
To Mrs Thrale.

Madam  
Your most humble servant,  
SAM: JOHNSON.

<sup>1</sup> Possibly the Hummums, the hot baths and hotels in Covent Garden, which Mrs. Johnson had visited, when making inquiries about the ghost of Parson Ford. *Life*, iii. 349.

<sup>2</sup> Friday.

<sup>3</sup> Dr. Lawrence, according to the *D.N.B.*, died at Canterbury, 6 June, 1783. Birkbeck Hill mentions also that the *Gentleman's Magazine* gives the date as 13 June. *Letters*, ii. 299, n. 2.

<sup>4</sup> To Oxford. *Letters*, ii. 257.

*Letter VIII.*

MADAM

Nothing that you say has any other effect upon my opinion, than to make me rest in the sullen conclusion that what is past is past. You have only turned uncoined silver into silver coined.<sup>1</sup>

Your fathers case and yours have an essential difference<sup>2</sup> which I cannot now explain, but will try to do it if ever you will hear me. With regard to myself I am obliged to you for thinking my quiet worth an apology.

I am

Dearest, dearest,

Nov. 30. 1782

Your most humble servant

To Mrs Thrale.

SAM: JOHNSON.

*Letter IX.*

MADAM

My purpose was to have shared the gayety of this evening, and to have heard, Ye Gods! and to have seen, but a very dreadful night has intervened, and and (sic) as want of sleep has made me very sleepy, it remains for me to dream if I can of Argyle Street.

I am

Monday evening

Madam, your most &amp;c

December 16. 1782

SAM: JOHNSON.

To Mrs Thrale.

<sup>1</sup> You have only given definite shape to my opinion? Or with a reference to their former intimacy, You have given my treasure a more precise value now that it is not likely to be increased?

One may compare with this expression the following passage, "Another was act(ive in) the Management of her Servants and (care)ful in Domestic Economy—Why so(mething) must be done says Johnson & what ( ) to a narrow Mind as hoarding Half(pence) till they turn into silver." From two leaves apparently torn from an early notebook of Mrs. Thrale's. *Rylands MS.*, 629; *Misc. Fragment*, 7.

<sup>2</sup> Perhaps a reference to John Salusbury's separation from his family through official duties in Nova Scotia and Ireland; or to family difficulties occasioned by his stormy and extravagant nature. See Seeley, *Mrs. Thrale*, chapter I.

*Letter X.*

Madam

I am really very much disordered, and know not how to get better ; but am trying the old way.—Thou knows't my *old ward*<sup>1</sup>—I hope you are well after all your fatigue of talking—or of hearing, if of that you suffered any.

I am,

Madam,

Your most humble servant,

SAM: JOHNSON.

Dec. 17. 1782

To Mrs Thrale.

*Letter XI.*

DEAREST MADAM

I have been bad, and am something better : perhaps to be worse and better, and never to be well, is what now remains. Perhaps yet a little more.

Mr. Cator<sup>2</sup> was with me this morning to enquire about Lord Ashburton,<sup>3</sup> I told him what I have told you, and let him know that I took care to live within call, but that the hurry into which he must be put by the fire in his chambers would naturally divert his attention.

I have not been wanting. I wrote him a respectful note upon the accident. Our papers are at his House.

I may perhaps not be long before I come and see you. Dum spiro, spero. That's my maxim, what d'ye say to that now ?

Mr Cator still thinks that our adversaries are not eager of more law, and that they may yet accept the six't thousand.<sup>4</sup> I am apt to think that he may be right.

I am

Madam

Most cordially your &amp;c

SAM: JOHNSON.

Dec. 18. 1782

To Mrs Thrale.

<sup>1</sup> *Henry IV.*, Part I., II., iv. 215-216 (Globe Ed.) "Thou knowest my old ward ; here I lay, and thus I bore my point."

<sup>2</sup> One of Mrs. Thrale's trustees. *Letters*, i. 355.

<sup>3</sup> Dunning, John, first Baron Ashburton, lawyer and a member of the Literary Club. *D.N.B.* and *Life*, iii. 128, etc. It would appear that he had been consulted about Mrs. Thrale's legal affairs.

<sup>4</sup> For Mrs. Thrale's lawsuit with Lady Salusbury, see Hayward, *Mrs. Piozzi*, ii. 57, and Seeley, *Mrs. Thrale*, pp. 187-8. In an undated letter to



*Letter XII.*

DEAR MADAM

I had not passed the door since I left you,<sup>1</sup> before yesterday morning. That I dined out was the consequence of a very early invitation and much importunity.

In the afternoon I was seized with a fit of convulsive breathlessness such as I think you have never seen, but I fell asleep before the fire and awaked somewhat better. But my nights are very restless, and life is very heavily burdened. I am afraid of opium and the methods which succeeded so well at Brighthelmston have not now had the same effect.

I have this day seen Mr. Allen,<sup>2</sup> Hoole,<sup>3</sup> Compton,<sup>4</sup> Walker,<sup>5</sup> and Cambridge.<sup>6</sup> But I have not seen those of whom I once hoped never to have lost sight.

This is the time of good wishes I hope, ye all know that you have those of, dearest, and dearest Madam,

Your most humble servant,

Dec. 26. 1782.

SAM: JOHNSON.

*Letter XIII.*

DEAREST LADY

I lay last night at my new lodging<sup>7</sup> but it is inconvenient, I shall not go above once or twice more. But I had eleven hours sleep in it, and my Breath is easy; Of this relief I see no other cause than

Dr. Pinfold Mrs. Thrale complains of her long persecution by Lady Salusbury, and avows her desire to come to terms, *Rylands MS.* 533 (5). The suit appears to have terminated in 1783, for Mr. Perkins refers, when writing to Mrs. Piozzi, 12 Nov. 1790, to certain rents from 1773 to 1783 "set off by the Master in Chancery when the Suit between you and Lady Salusbury was settled." *Rylands MS.* 600 (9).

<sup>1</sup> Possibly since their separation after returning from Brighton on 20 Nov. *Letters*, ii. 277.

<sup>2</sup> Allen, Edmund, printer. *Life*, *passim*.

<sup>3</sup> Hoole, John, translator of Ariosto and Tasso. *D.N.B.* and *Life*, *passim*.

<sup>4</sup> Compton, Rev. James. Formerly Librarian of a Benedictine Convent in Paris, now Anglican Clergyman. *Letters*, ii. 271, n. 4, 290.

<sup>5</sup> Walker, John, lecturer on elocution. *Life*, iv. 206, 421, n. 2.

<sup>6</sup> Cambridge, Richard Owen, poet and prose-writer; host at Twickenham of "many contemporary notabilities." *D.N.B.* and *Life*, *passim*.

<sup>7</sup> This reference to a new lodging does not appear to be explained by Boswell's list of his rooms (*Life*, iii. 405, n. 3). For his rooms at Argyle Street see *ibid.*, iv. 164.

my compliance with Dr. Pepys's<sup>1</sup> directions. My Life is certainly lightened of great oppression, and, I hope, will be lengthened.

You shall see to morrow, Madam

Your most &c

Jan. 17. 1783

SAM: JOHNSON.

To Mrs Thrale.

*Letter XIV.*

DEAR MADAM

I hope you did not take cold with me, and however you took it, I hope it will be soon better. I have already taken all Dr. Pepys's<sup>1</sup> pills, which have acted only as opiate, and have not exerted that power in any great degree. Ask his leave that if I find a cathartick necessary I may take it.

I am, I think, recovering. Mr. Langton<sup>2</sup> is in town with Lady Rothes.<sup>2</sup> I am invited to meet them to morrow, but will not venture.

I hope, Harriet is well, & all of you.

I am

Dr. Hunter<sup>3</sup> is dying

Dear Madam &c

To Mrs. Thrale.

SAM: JOHNSON

March 22 (p 3). 1783<sup>4</sup>

*Letter XV.*

MADAM

Pray let me know how my dear little Miss<sup>5</sup> does. That is the most pressing question, but as an Episode you may let me know how any of you do.

<sup>1</sup> Pepys, Sir Lucas, physician. *D.N.B.* and *Life*.

<sup>2</sup> Bennet Langton and his wife. *D.N.B.* and *Life*, *passim*.

<sup>3</sup> Hunter, William, anatomist (*D.N.B.* and *Life*, iv. 220). He died 30 March, 1783.

<sup>4</sup> Badly written. It is difficult to reconcile March 22 with Boswell's account of 21-22 March (*Life*, iv. 169). Boswell had found him at Mrs. Thrale's on Friday, 21 March, and he writes: "Next day, Saturday, 22 March, I found him still at Mrs. Thrale's, but he told me that he was to go to his own house in the afternoon." Yet the same day in this letter he would be writing Mrs. Thrale news of his health. Boswell goes on, "He was better, but I perceived he was but an unruly patient for Sir Lucas Pepys, who visited him, while I was with him said, 'If you were tractable, Sir, I should prescribe for you.'" Yet Johnson says in this letter, "I have already taken all Dr. Pepys's pills." Probably Johnson's date is March 23.

<sup>5</sup> Henrietta Sophia (Harriet).

My *Arthritical* complaints, there's a nice word, rather encrease, but are not yet, as the Scotch say *serious*. I took the poppy last night, and slept so well this morning, as I have not done for some time past. Such a sleep I had as I wish you to have, whenever you are in good humour with

Your humble servant

March 30. 1783

SAM: JOHNSON.

To Mrs. Thrale.

*Letter XVI.*

DEAR MADAM

I hope to hear again that my dear little girl is out of danger. It will now be pleasing to consider that she and her sister<sup>1</sup> have past two of the ambushes of life, and that you may leave them at a distance with less anxiety.

I am willing to think that lightened, as you are, of part of your load,<sup>2</sup> you will bear the rest with less difficulty, and recover your health as you recover your quiet.

My foot is neither better nor worse, the rest of me is rather better.

I am,

Madam,

Bolt Court

Your humble servant,

To Mrs. Thrale.

SAM: JOHNSON.

March 31. 1783.

*Letter XVII.*

MADAM

You will not much wonder that my own state of body is much in my thoughts, or that since you enquired about it, I should (sic) what intelligence I obtain.

Having, with all that knew him, a very high opinion of the chirurgical experience and skill of Mr Mudge,<sup>3</sup> I laid my case before him, and inclose his answer, which you may return as you can.

When you have this opinion you will ac— acquit (sic) me of impatience or temerity, and perhaps encourage me by your suffrage.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Harriet and Cecilia. Harriet was dead by Good Friday, 18 April.

<sup>2</sup> Anxiety for her children, or her lawsuit with Lady Salisbury?

<sup>3</sup> Mudge, John, physician. *D.N.B.* and *Life and Letters*, *passim*.

<sup>4</sup> Johnson had written to Mrs. Thrale the previous day that excision of the sarcocele was urgently necessary. *Letters*, ii. 335.

I have written likewise to Dr. Heberden,<sup>1</sup> who is now in his retreat at Windsor, and doubt not of his concurrence in the general opinion.

Consider as one that has loved you much, and loved you long, and let me have your good wishes and your prayers.

Write as often as you can to

Madam

London

Your most humble servant

Sept. 23. 1783

SAM: JOHNSON.<sup>1</sup>

I am told that the *light air* is obtained from iron dissolved by the vitriolick, or sulphur acid—But I am not sure.<sup>2</sup>

*Letter XVIII.*

[Between Oct 6 and Oct. 21. 1783].<sup>3</sup>

MADAM,

Many reasons hinder me from believing that opium had any part in my late disorder. I had a long time forborn it. I never used it in any quantity comparable to what is taken by those that habitually indulge themselves with it. It never produces palsies by the utmost excess. My Physicians had so little suspicion of it, though they knew my practice, that they made use of it to obviate some effects of the blisters.

It was the paralytick affection which I mentioned sixteen year ago to Dr Laurence,<sup>4</sup> when he allowed my fears to be reasonable. It appeared afterward as an asthma, from which since its invasion of another part I have been almost wholly free, and which in its paroxysms was relieved by opium.

<sup>1</sup> Heberden, William, physician. *D.N.B.* and *Life and Letters, passim.*

<sup>2</sup> Johnson had discussed balloons in his letter to Mrs. Thrale of 22 Sept. *Letters*, ii. 333. See *Life, passim.*

<sup>3</sup> On 20 Oct. Johnson wrote to Taylor that the operation had been suspended owing to the absence of Pott for a week. On 6 Oct. he wrote to Mrs. Thrale, "Mr. Pott has been out of town, but I expect him soon, and will then tell you something of the main affair, of which there seems now to be a better prospect." Writing on 9 Oct. to Mrs. Thrale he does not refer to his illness, but reports progress to her again on the 21st, when Mr. Pott "still continues his disinclination to *fire and sword*." Possibly the sarcocele had burst by the 6th, Johnson was still waiting for Pott's return on the 9th, and wrote this letter soon afterwards. *Letters*, ii. 338, 340, 342.

<sup>4</sup> See *ante*, pp. 34, 36.



The state of the tumour is now changed. When the surgeons visited me, they thought it upon examination a sarcocele, but I was willing to hope something better, and was likewise desirous of knowledge rather than conjecture; I therefore proposed an exploration by puncture; the operation was performed, and the unwelcome opinion was confirmed. The breach made in the integuments closed, but the internal wound never healed. The tumour increased with great encumbrance and very frequent pain, so tender as scarcely to endure any bandage, and so much inflamed as to threaten great mischief.

Such was my misery when I consulted Mr Mudge,<sup>1</sup> and was driven back to town. Mr Pot<sup>2</sup> found the danger not immediate but seemed to think excision unavoidable; but being to take a journey delayed it. While he was away the external wound burst open, and by very frequent effusions the tension is eased, the inflammation abated, and the protuberance so diminished as to incommode me very little, and scarcely to remind me of my disease by any pain.

Mr Pot upon re-examination think(s) it best, since Nature has done so much, to look quietly on, and see what it will do more. I proposed another orifice, which I think Mr Cruikshank<sup>3</sup> seems to approve, but Mr Pot thinks not proper. The operation is therefore at least suspended,<sup>4</sup> the tumour is found not scirrous, and therefore not likely to corrupt any other part; and, say(s) Pot, one would not carry "fire and sword further than is necessary."

I shall consult Mr Mudge, whose eagerness you know, and of whose judgement I think with great esteem, and enquire whether this new view of the case reconciles him to delay.

I cannot, Madam, yet give an account of settled health, or a cure either perfected or indeed attempted, but I hope, you will be glad to hear that from such a complication of miseries I am now at ease. The Gout, which was for a while very oppressive,<sup>5</sup> is now daily remitting, so that I walk easily enough without shoes between two rooms on the same floor.

<sup>1</sup> See *ante*, p. 41.

<sup>2</sup> For Mr. Pott see *Letters*, ii. 339, 342-4, 346-7.

<sup>3</sup> Cruikshank, William Cumberland, anatomist. *D.N.B.* and *Letters*, *passim*.

<sup>4</sup> *for* scored out.

<sup>5</sup> See Letter of Oct. 6 to Mrs. Thrale. *Letters*, ii. 338.

I have thus *ended* for the present *joy and woe* and we may now *talk a little like folks of this world*.<sup>1</sup>

——<sup>2</sup> always was a magnifier of herself, but by your description she seems to have improved in her inflations. She was one of ——'s<sup>3</sup> first scholars. She liked him at first, disliked him afterwards, and seems now to have resuscitated her original kindness—*sit tibi exemplo*. —[When you . . . to anybody, but me . . . care to spell it right. *It reflects upon me, as I know of my trade.*]<sup>2</sup>

If Mr Shepherd<sup>3</sup> brings me a letter from you, he will have much ado to miss a kind reception, and as my condition is at present he will not be told that I am not at home.

[Incomplete]

*Letter XIX.*

DEAR MADAM

If you can be short, I can be as short as you,<sup>4</sup> but though I had less inclination to write I would not forbear an immediate answer to your letter, which I have just received,<sup>5</sup> because I think you should lose no time before you go into the warm bath, which, in my opinion, promises more help for the whole complication of your disorders, than any thing else. It is at least safe, it can do no sudden mischief, and if any thing forbids its use, you have it wholly in your power. Stay in the bath, each time, till you find some little relaxation, and go in twice

<sup>1</sup> Prior, *Poems on Several Occasions*. *A Better Answer* :—

Dear Cloe, how blubber'd is that pretty Face?  
Thy Cheek all on Fire, and Thy Hair all uncurl'd:  
Pr'ythee quit this Caprice; and (as old FALSTAF says)  
Let Us e'en talk a little like Folks of This World.

<sup>2</sup> Name and sentence scored out.

<sup>3</sup> Is this the Rev. T. Shephard, of Enborne Cottage, near Newbury, Berks., to whom the early education of J. S. Piozzi Salusbury was afterwards entrusted?

<sup>4</sup> Mrs. Thrale wrote to Dr. Johnson from Bath a letter which is strangely dated Nov. 31, 1783 (*Piozzi Letters*, ii. 335). Brevity is not a feature of this letter as she published it. The remark of Johnson's is curious, unless he is referring to another letter that has not survived.

<sup>5</sup> Mrs. Thrale wrote on Nov. 31 (!) "I am very ill indeed, my dear Sir." . . . "Were the mother as likely to enjoy life and health again as the daughter is, we would perhaps struggle to obtain the advantage of Mr. Herschel's acquaintance." *Ibid.*, ii. 335-6.

a day. I think you will in a week have reason to praise your Physician.

Please to tell all my young Friends, that I love them, and wish them well.

I am,

Madam,

To Mrs Thrale  
at Bath

Your most humble servant

SAM: JOHNSON. Dec. 1. 1783.

*Letter XX.*

[Note only. Undated and unsigned.]

Tussis frequens et vehemens, ita tamen ut tolerari possit. Respirandi vero labor adeo gravis, meatusque, ut videtur, ita angustus, ut mihi sim totus gravis.

Heri post prandium maximam partem liquidum, certe non immodicum, et avidissimè sumptum, in sedili obdormivi experrectus vero tantum spirandi laborem, tantum tussiendo pertinaciam sensi ut vix unquam magis aegrotaverim.

Multa senem circumveniunt incommoda

Vel quod res omnes gelidè timidequè ministrat.<sup>1</sup>

*Letter XXI.*

MADAM

London June 18/83

Yesterday morning early<sup>2</sup> Dr Johnson was afflicted with a parlytick (sic) stroke, which deprived him of speech for some time—His understanding remained perfect. He wrote to Mr Allen<sup>3</sup> & desired his attendance & assistance—Allen immediately sent for Dr. Heberdon<sup>4</sup> (sic) & Dr Brocklesby :<sup>5</sup> they prescribed blisters, with good effect—He in writing desired no Company might be introduced.<sup>6</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Horace, *De Arte Poetica*, l. 169 and l. 171. The correct order in the second line is "timide gelideque."

<sup>2</sup> Johnson wrote on the 17th to Allen and Taylor describing his seizure (*Life*, iv. 228, 231), and on the 19th began a regular diary of his illness to Mrs. Thrale (*Letters*, ii. 300 and *seq.*). He replied to Davies's offer of help on the 18th June. *Life*, iv. 231.

<sup>3</sup> *Ante*, p. 39.

<sup>4</sup> *Ante*, p. 42.

<sup>5</sup> *Life* and *Letters*, *passim*.

<sup>6</sup> See letter to Davies. *Life*, iv. 231.

I have just now received a most affectionate note from him in answer to a letter of mine in which Mrs Davies tender'd her services.

He is really much to be pitied, He has no female friend in his House that can do him any service on this occasion—Mrs Du Moulin has left the House for what cause, I do not know, & I would not ask—

I believe he does not wish this misfortune should be publickly known—I could not conceal it from you, but must entreat you not to hint from whence you obtained your information.<sup>1</sup>

Dr Johnson now speaks pretty plainly—

I am Madam,

Your most obedient

humble Servant

Mrs Thrale

Bath.

THOMAS DAVIES.<sup>2</sup>

*Letter XXII.*

SIR,

I presume to address you, on haveing *repeatedly* heard, the following assertions

That Doctor Johnson is the *universal* Friend of human Wretchedness, and that the most welcome compliment he can receive is presenting him with new occasions in which he may *unostentatiously* display the happy Inclinations of his Heart.

That he pays the most humane and polite attention to *every* appeal of *virtuous* calamity : and that not contracting his services in behalf of *connected Individuals*, he extends them in favor of the *whole Circle of general society*.

From such various Evidences of your humanity of Temper, Sir, arises the present obtrusion :

I must confess myself greatly struck with your *related character* ; and drew this conclusion from it

<sup>1</sup> Johnson had written to Mrs. Thrale on 5 June, "I have, by the migration of one of my ladies, more peace at home ; but I remember an old savage chief that says of the Romans with great indignation—*ubi solitudinem faciunt, pacem appellant.*" *Letters*, ii. 297.

<sup>2</sup> Davies's kindness of disposition shown here is illustrated again by Boswell's story of how he could not sleep "from the concern which he felt on account of '*This Sad affair of Barette.*'" *Life*, ii. 94. See also *Life*, iv. 231, 413 n. 2.



That since your Disposition rose superior to those *political coldness*, that are the genuine offspring of common Avarice ; even I, (atom as I am), might be indulg'd among the Numbers who have felt the warmth of your Benevolence ; and by even a *self-introduction* claim a Title to kindness, because I am the sport of *diversified Misfortune*.

To unfold the particulars of a *very wretched life*, must necessarily occasion anguish to the Relater, and no pleasure to the hearer ; for when Sir, were the murmurs of complaint, agreeable ? or when was recollected Distress, grateful to Repetition ?

The *slightest Intimation* of Misery, calls all the *Ardour of Generosity* into the *feeling Bosom*.

It will be sufficient to the Soul of Sensibility, to know the *general Tenour* of my Anxieties (sic), and without repeating their Minutiæ, to discover their specie—

Of *Twenty One Years* that are gone by me, (at least since the lapse of so many of them as I can remember, for I am scarce at age) I dont recollect *one Day's* having pass't without its *peculiar Alarm*, nor one Sun to have gone down in the *calm of perfect serenity*.

This eternal Tumult of Mind, you will no doubt say, Sir argues either great *querulousness* of *Temper* in *myself*, an uncommon succession of natural or adventitious (sic) Disasters, or distinguish'd *Treachery, Design, and Fraudulency* among some of *my connections*.

There is not perhaps (without a vicious and blameworthy Conduct,) any possibility of a young Man's being reduc'd (so *very early in life*, and *born to such considerable Fortunes*, his Family alive, and himself the *only Child*, and *Heir presumptive* (sic) of it). I say Sir there is hardly a possibility of his being so *deplorable in Soul, Circumstances, and Situation as I am at this Moment*, unless from the cause above suppos'd (*his own guilt*) or the *guilt of others*.

The Hydras of human horror are *Distractions in domestic Duties*, and under these I have a long Season, and still labour heavily.

A Variance, with my Family Sir, first begun by *different sentiments* in the *Article* of Marriage, heated by the obstinacy of age, and the pride of sager authority, and still more aggravated (sic) by other Incidents which always happen on such Occasions, has at length brought on an *unconditional seperation* (sic).

The Consequences of such a private Division are not *less complicated, than dreadful*.

They expose us to almost *every sort of sorrow*. Hence, Sir, am I *completely miserable*.

The *Summer* Insects have left me, and I am at the same Time *shun'd, deceiv'd, and render'd the Slave of Ridicule*.

Some, insult my sensibility by the *insincere sympathies of barren pity*; some, exasperate my sufferings by *fallacious assurances*, and some bestow upon my solicitations (sic) their *humble Pittances*, and *morsels of Charity* with all the *haughty Bounty of Almsgivers*.

These however Sir are not *the worst* of my distresses: (My *necessities* and the *implacability* of the Principals of my Family, compelling me to contract Debts for subsistence,) A cruel Impossibility of answering an *immediate Demand*, is branded with the stigma of laxity of Principles, and the *very anguish of soul*, that tears my Vitals on considering my *own Inability* is infamously tortur'd into the well-feign'd artifice, and elaborate sorrow of *harden'd and hackney'd depravity*.

I have very often, Sir, been represented this Day as the most generous of human Beings, and the next as the Reverse (the Offcast of a Family), merely because I cou'd no longer *supply Extortion*, or *fee Usury*; and I have more than once been blacken'd as a Wretch without probity or honesty, because in the *openess* (sic), and *desperation* of my Mind, I have laid before my Creditors the cruelty of my *Disappointments*, and the *insufficiency of my Circumstances* to discharge the Exorbitancies on Demand, tho' I have even propos'd to be detain'd with them in *any Capacity* till some happier Turn in my affairs—

One Man, *grudgeingly assists* me, yet wonders at my *Family's Antipathy*, and my own *Imprudence*: Another, *sooths* (sic) me by a *Promise*, to agonize me the more by a *fresh Disappointment*, a Third insults my *Poverty*, by *compassionateing* the severity of that Fate, which he yet *refuses to ameliorate*; and a Fourth rejects my suit, (and observeing that I must have been monstrous or I could not have been miserable,) in compliance with the Example of others,<sup>1</sup> renounces me for ever.

<sup>1</sup> Superfluous bracket.

Thus Sir am I a *Football of Fortune*, bandied about by every *Insolent*, and left at the discretion of *Madness* and *Brutality*. At this very early Time of Life, when my *Birth*, *Education* and *Connections* might have entitled me to the *sympathies of nature*, *Friendship*, and *Love*, I find myself on the extensive Ocean of human Life, the *Tide* and *Tempest* of every meaner *Passion* beating over me.

To a Person of your *Discernment* and *Observation* Sir it will not seem surprizing that *Want* and *Misfortune* shou'd be as little befriended as the *deserted* and unhappy Animal in the fine Fables of Mr Gay.<sup>1</sup> I perceive myself at length avoided as if I cou'd *look* my former Professers (sic) into an *Infection*, and the motion of my lips is as vigilantly shun'd as if they apprehended my *breath* wou'd *blast* them with the *Pestilence*. In short Sir I am *guilty of being very unfortunate*, and am therefore unanimously consider'd as a *liveing Plague*, for there is no one who can do me service, who chooses coming in *contact with me*—

I have interceeded (sic) with my Family, but I find neither the *lowest Concessions*, nor the *most dutiful humiliations* will do: The *Mischeivous* (sic) *Aversion* is become radical—I despair of a *Reconciliation*—yet surely a virtuous *Passion* is not criminal Sir?—There is no Pencil can paint my *Distresses*, and *Fears*, in any *adequate degree*:

It is indeed, possible, for an human Creature to be as much *alone* (literally) in the *Center of this Metropolis* as if he were in the *deserts of Arabia*: and to be as destitute of *Hope* or *Resourse* (sic) while he sees all the *paradeing Superfluities* of life in *prospect* and every *expensive Passion* in *Motion*, as if he was thrown upon a *rock* in the *midst of the sea*, when nothing but the *dashings of the wave* startles his *Ear*, the *lowerings of the Element* surprizes his *Eye* and the *clouds and ocean bound his Horison*.

The *Soul* however has commonly some *soothing reservation* some *solaceing refuge* to prevent its *Desperation*.

Frequently as I have fail'd the *natural love of protracting life* [*however wretched*] prompts me to one more *Endeavour*. (Every Thing else failing me Sir), I have made an application to the

<sup>1</sup> Gay, *Fables, The Hare and Many Friends*.

*Irish Theatre*, (to the London Stage I have very obvious objections) and find that I can have a decent allowance from Mr Mossop.<sup>1</sup>

I know not how far I may be *calculated* for the Profession, but have been often flatter'd with haveing a *not contemptible* genius, that way.

This offer I shou'd joyfully embrace, but alas ! Sir (the old objection still holds), the *means are wanting*, and how they are to be procur'd I don't know—

I have petition'd *the Rich*, who refuse with all the arrogance of *Power* : I have consulted *the Poor* but *their* Hearts are so overwhelm'd in the Entanglement of their own concerns that they have not leasure (sic) to advise *others*—

I have argued with my *own Mind*, and haveing been persuaded by some, that I might acquire a decent *Maintainance* by the *Pen*, I have for some months been the drudge of the Booksellers, and the slave of the Press—I have written some small Volumes, which acquir'd me an uncommon share of *barren Fame* among some, *not unjudicious* Friends, who nevertheless, (under the Pretence of indulging them with the *last finishes*) either *snach'd* with the Printer alter'd the *Titles*, convey'd them abroad, or sold them to the *Trade*—

By *means like these* Sir, I am become—what I am : Viz : a *poor young Creature* whose *sensibility* only aggravates (sic) his sufferings, and who in the *spring of Existence*, has felt all the miseries of a *Winter Age* ; and whose *first Prayer* to the *Author of Nature* is, that he may be *early releas'd* from struggles to which his *youth spirits*, and *constitution* is no longer equal.—

A late *Reperusal* of some papers in the *Rambler*, the *Benevolence* of your *Character*, and the persuasions of a *worthy sensible* tho' (unmoney'd) Gentleman ( who I believe has the honour of a slight Acquaintance with you, and who favors (sic) me with a very *distinguish'd regard* (*Dr Thomson*) has embolden'd me to address

<sup>1</sup> Mossop, Henry, actor and theatre manager. After a successful struggle with rival managers he was by 1768 in possession of Crow Street Theatre, Dublin, as well as his own old theatre, Smock Alley. He was the "idol of Dublin," but his career was not a financial success. In 1770 he gave up Crow Street, and on a visit to London in 1771 was imprisoned for debt by one of his own company. After a tour on the Continent he died, November, 1773. D.N.B.



myself on the present *cruel Crisis of affairs* to you Sir ; to whom nothing but "*Love combin'd with guilt*" is odious, nor any kind of Distress, disregarded, unless *incurr'd by the baseness of the Petitioner*.<sup>1</sup>

To a Mind of *delicate Contexture*, *Pecuniary* Requests are the most *irksom* in the World. A Man may give unblushing, and even with *some grace*, but who can solicit (sic) for himself without the most awkward *Embarrassment* !

But there are *some spirits whose refinement of feeling* leads them to remove the awe of asking and the dread of denial ; whose natural tenderness of Heart and politeness of Bounty delights to disburden the imploreing bosom of its apprehensions :

Of this complexion, (I have heard,) is Doctor Johnson's Generosity : If so ; I shall be pardon'd not only the singularity, but the length of letter into which I have rambled.

I fear, I have been *tediously prolix*, but I cou'd not easily avoid it ; I have only treated of my Situation in general, and, so much, appear'd necessary. But to have recapitulated every Circumstance of Infelicity that has conjoin'd to bring me to the last extremities of life wou'd have been at once an useless, voluminous and laborious undertaking.

I shou'd shudder at intrudeing upon a Doctor Johnson such incorrect Sentiments as these, was I not chear'd by considering that his Humanity will in such a Cause, suppress every critical Power, and that his Heart will plead for the Errors of a boyish Writer, whose Bosom is distracted with Doubt, depress'd by Fear, and harrass'd (sic) by Illness :

And when the Soul is engross'd by the despondencies of care, it is not possible, to pay much attention to the nicer points of literature, the turn of a Period, the choise (sic) of a Term, the dress of Sentiment, or to the selection of musical sillables (sic)<sup>2</sup>—

<sup>1</sup> Pratt may have derived encouragement from such Rambler papers as 81, "The great rule of action" ; 148, "The cruelty of parental tyranny." The great rule of action is, "Let every man allow the claim of right in another, which he should think himself entitled to make in like circumstances." Essays 107, 170-1, show indignation with the betrayer, sympathy with the fallen woman. Essay 50 offers a parallel to this passage, "We find ourselves excited" (by complaint) "rather to captiousness than pity. . . . We inquire, whether the pain be proportionate to the lamentation ; and whether, supposing the affliction real, it is not the effect of vice and folly, rather than calamity."

<sup>2</sup> See Rambler 152 for Johnson's discussion of epistolary style.

Yet still I tremble, till I know the Issue, for on the Turn of your Answer depends the revival of my long-lost serenity, or the fiercer throbbings of the most aggravated Anguish.—

Cou'd I raise the Pity and Confidence of some good Being to indulge me with a small Sum to get my Things (I mean the comforts of life) about me, and convey me to Ireland, my gratitude, and Honour wou'd be eternally engag'd to him, and I wou'd return the Favor the first moment of my Power.

But alas! there are few such Phenixis (sic) among our species—I now, however, rest my Hopes on one of the greatest ornaments of it, and confess, I am not without Expectation of Success when I reflect upon the Words of a modern and elegant Critick who in a just Encomium on his life and Writings has this Expression "That the great Center of all his Views is the Promotion of Virtue, Religion and Humanity"

Subjoining,

"That together with the best Head, he seems possesst of the very best Heart at present existing"<sup>1</sup>—

These are Testimonities (sic) so incontestible, that I have nothing to fear,—I have every Thing to hope—I presume to inform you Sir that my Lodgeings are at a Mr Deals Cheesmonger, the Corner of Berners Street near Middlesex Hospital, and to say that

I am with Veneration

Your

Berners Street  
April 6th 1769

grateful obedient Serv<sup>t</sup>  
S. J. C. PRATT.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Cf. W(illiam) R(iders)'s *Account of the Living Authors of Great Britain*, 1762.

<sup>2</sup> S. J. C. Pratt may reasonably be identified with S. J. Pratt described in the *D.N.B.* The only difficulties are the disappearance of the C. from his signature and some disagreement in the evidences as to age. The writer of the letter says ambiguously on April 6th, 1769, "Of Twenty One Years that are gone by me, (at least since the lapse of so many of them as I can remember, for I am scarce at age)." The *D.N.B.* dates S. J. Pratt's birth Dec. 25th, 1749. Otherwise the similarities are conclusive. S. J. Pratt was of a good family of St. Ives, Huntingdonshire; his father was a brewer and twice high sheriff of the county, his mother a niece of Sir Thomas Drury. He quarrelled with his family through a love affair, and the family was given to contention and litigation. He was ordained, but soon quitted the Church, and appeared on the Dublin stage in 1773. Not successful as an actor he turned to literature, and the sentimental cast of his mind is evidenced by such works

P.S. I wou'd have written a fair Transcription of this Scrawl<sup>1</sup> did not Indisposition and other unkind Circumstances prevent, and therefore hope Sir your pardon—

*Letter XXIII.*

SIR,

If a Satisfaction arising from a sensible Conviction of my Scholar<sup>2</sup> having been the sole Unassisted Auth<sup>r</sup> of the Specimens his Friends at a distance will not allow him y<sup>e</sup> Merit of, as being deemd above his Capacity If This I say were a Compensation for the Charge of Insincerity now lying upon Me, I cou'd find abundant Amends in such a Satisfaction which is entirely Mine. Proud and ambitious as I am of the good Opinion of my learned Friend I shall ever account it too dearly purchas'd at the Price of Truth. Nor am I so blindly fond of Fame as to seek it by such Arts as must soon be detected and found false.

Sensible and aware beforehand how doubtfully the Specimens I sent might be rec<sup>d</sup> I was extremely cautious that in them nothing shou'd be put down But what was strictly speaking and Bonâ Fide the Scholar's Own. Of which had you been on the Spot you might have had the same Ocular Evidence as myself. Be then assur'd my good Friend, However Impossible it may sound That not the least Deceit has been impos'd upon you. But that you have had in all Plainness and Sincerity, The Truth, y<sup>e</sup> whole Truth, and nothing but the Truth. I agree with you that where there is an utter Ignorance of the Latin Grammar, and English Orthography, Such Improvements are not to be made in Ten weeks only, even where is no want of good natural Powers, and y<sup>e</sup> Scholar's Diligence is unceasing.

But the Mistake lies in forming our Estimate entirely from what was seen of Him at Streatham, when he was seen in Disguise only. There was even at that time a Fund of English and Latin Acquisitions about Him, But it cou'd not appear, or be properly rang'd(?) for

as *Observations on the "Night Thoughts" of Dr Young, 1776; Travels for the Heart, written in France in 1777 in imitation of Sterne; Humanity or the Rights of Nature, 1788.* It is with regret that one notes that Mrs. Pratt was long separated from her husband, "for whom, however, she had retained feelings of 'cordial and confidential amity.'" *D.N.B.*

<sup>1</sup> In a fair number of cases words have been scored through and others substituted.

<sup>2</sup> This was Ralph Plumbe, son of Alderman Plumbe. See *post*, p. 72.

the Dissipation of Mind contracted amidst the Relaxations of y<sup>e</sup> School School (sic) Recess, and y<sup>e</sup> Perturbation of Spirits he was under. Otherwise let any Man account if he can for his ability to render English into Latin soon after his Return Here so smoothly and to surprize me, and even strike Mr Strahan. To Confinement since, and close Application to Books with Seclusion from Amusements, and to form<sup>r</sup> acquisitions conjointly, not to the first mentioned only, such Improvements are owing.

As to Books of Amusement if he were fond of reading I see not what Time is left for 'em. What with a first Lesson in Grammar before Breakfast, a 2<sup>d</sup> Lesson in Aesop<sup>1</sup> after Breakfast, a Third in Aesop again after Dinner, with Roman History by Question and Answer, and Exercise in Exempla Moralia.<sup>2</sup> A small Pittance of Time is left for such Books. I think However he might be brought to reading better by such Books as these; Bampfylde Carew Moore King of the Gypsies,<sup>3</sup> Colonel Jaques,<sup>4</sup> History of the Buccaneers &c.,<sup>5</sup> Than by Persian Tales<sup>6</sup> which do not fall in with his Taste.

As to y<sup>e</sup> Things which came here from the Tooting Taylor, Notice

<sup>1</sup> The Latin Fables of Aesop. See *post*, p. 74.

<sup>2</sup> Possibly the work by Thomas Morell, published at Eton in 1762. *Exempla Moralia: or a second book of new English Examples to be rendered into Latin.*

<sup>3</sup> The first life of Bampfylde-Moore Carew appeared in 1745, and in various versions his life went through thirty editions. The third Carew book, *An Apology for the Life of Bampfylde-Moore Carew*, combined two different versions of his life, and contained also "a dictionary of the Cant language." It was published by R. Goadby without date, but with a preface dated Feb. 10, 1750. This was "the basis of all future accounts." F. W. Chandler, *Literature of Roguery*, pp. 120, 166-8. *D.N.B.*

<sup>4</sup> Defoe, 1722.

<sup>5</sup> The original collection of piratical careers was Alexander Olivier Exquemlin's *De Americaensche Zee-Roovers* (Amsterdam, 1678); it was translated into English as *The History of the Bucaniers* (1684) and as *The Bucaniers of America* (1684-5). There were numerous editions of the collection in English. *Literature of Roguery*, p. 178.

<sup>6</sup> Translations from the French version of Pétis de la Croix appeared in 1714 by "Dr King, and several other hands," and in 1714-15 by Ambrose Philips. The latter was more often reprinted, but the *Persian Tales* were less popular than the *Arabian Nights*. There were numerous eighteenth-century imitations of the oriental tale. M. P. Conant, *The Oriental Tale in England*, pp. 13-25, 273. Rogue literature was more to the taste of the people.



was immediately sent to the Father abt them, and as soon as his Pleasure c<sup>d</sup> be known abt the Disposal of 'em Charge was instantly given for y<sup>m</sup> to be sent Home immediately. And I really thought they had been sent immediately. I have represented in as strong Terms as I could the grossness of his Behav<sup>r</sup> in having any Thing to do with this paltry Tradesman. About which he has heard enough from his Father. On which Acc<sup>t</sup> he has had a world of Uneasiness, and was not made happy till Fryday night by a Line from his Father (for the first Time) since his Return Here, at which he shed a Flood of Tears, at the Thoughts of being restor<sup>d</sup> to y<sup>e</sup> Fav<sup>r</sup> of his Father.

He has been something indisposd with a Cold for yese Two Days, but is Better.

I have rec<sup>d</sup> a Line from Mrs Thrale which I will answer at another Post. In the meantime I beg my Respects to Mr Thrale and Lady, and desire you will believe me to be

Sir,

Your very sincere

and obed<sup>t</sup> hble Serv<sup>t</sup>

HENRY BRIGHT.

March 24, 1771

To Dr Johnson.

*Letter XXIV.*

June 18 [1774.]<sup>1</sup>

DEAR SIR

Mr Thrale this day lent me one hundred pounds on my note payable in twelve months—This unexpected supply, for w<sup>ch</sup> I am greatly obliged to him, will with diligence and attention, help me, I hope, to surmount all difficulties—Your Veni, Vidi, Vici proclaims

<sup>1</sup> Boswell tells how after Johnson's return from Scotland at the end of 1773, his anger with Davies for publishing *Miscellaneous and fugitive pieces* "By the Authour of the Rambler" without his consent, gave way to his former kindness. "He soon relented, and continued his kindness to him as formerly," *Life*, ii. 270-1. Mrs. Thrale in the *Piozzi Anecdotes, Miscellanies*, i. 184, describes Johnson as returning from London after his rebuke to Davies and saying to Thrale, "What shall you and I do that is good for Tom Davies? We will do something for him to be sure." Davies's hope "to surmount all difficulties" suggests that the letter does not refer to the great crisis of his bankruptcy in 1778, when Johnson was very active on his behalf (*D.N.B.*). It may be noted that Johnson had lent Davies £25 from his pension as early as 1765. *Life*, i. 488.

Johnson was in London in June, 1774 and 1778, and wrote to Boswell from Streatham, 21 June, 1774. *Life*, ii. 278.

emphatically the benevolence of your mind ; it tells me the pleasure you feel in doing a good action. Pray be so obliging as to present my best respects to Mrs Thrale

I am Sir

Your ever obliged &  
most obedient

humble Servant

THOMAS DAVIES

Dr Johnson  
at Mrs Thrale's  
Stretham.

*Letter XXV.*

Marybon May 29 [1778]<sup>1</sup>

SIR

Although I have no answer to my last letter, yet I venture to write again about my little affairs, and beg you will let me know when I may call upon you—I saw Mr Dodsley<sup>2</sup> yesterday, and he told me they had printed another edition of Sully's *Memoirs*—I apprehend they had no right to do this without my consent, it is more than fourteen years since that book was first publish'd ;<sup>3</sup> and about a year ago, I offerd to give them my corrected copy for a reasonable consideration, which Dodsley in the name of the partners<sup>4</sup> refusd—and now they have reprinted it without consulting me although by the late decision concerning literary property<sup>5</sup> the copy is mine—I am advisd to publish it for myself in numbers, and if the partners expect to sell another edition, I have some reason to hope that I may have success by publishing it in this manner, as the purchase will be so much easier—but I must be speedy, for Dodsley owned the book was almost ready—it will be necessary I suppose to draw up a little address

<sup>1</sup> Charlotte Lennox's translation of the *Memoirs of M. de Bethune duke of Sully* was published in 1756, by A. Millar, R. and J. Dodsley, and W. Shropshire. A new edition was printed in 1778, and Mrs. Lennox's letter refers to the imminence of this.

<sup>2</sup> R. Dodsley, the original founder of the firm, retired in 1759, and died in 1764. *D.N.B.* The business was carried on by J. Dodsley.

<sup>3</sup> Under the statute of 1709, after fourteen years from the date of publication, the ownership of literary property returned to the author for a further fourteen years. *Ency. Brit.* on Copyright.

<sup>4</sup> The publishers of the 1778 edition were J. Rivington & Sons, J. Dodsley, S. Crowder, G. Robinson, T. Cadell, and T. Evans.

<sup>5</sup> The decision of the House of Lords against perpetual copyright was given 22 Feb., 1774. *Ency. Brit.*

to the publick explaining my reasons for publishing Sully myself, and in this manner—this favour I earnestly entreat of you—as likewise that you will appoint a day for my calling upon you—if the bearer is so fortunate as to find you at home he will bring me your answer, but if that should not happen I send my direction again lest my former letter should be lost

No 7 Notingham Street, near the Church Marybon. To Doctor Johnson Bolt Court Fleet Street.	I am Sir Your most hum <sup>e</sup> Servt C. LENNOX.
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*Letter XXVI.*

DEAR SIR

Mary-bon Monday [1778]

Mr Lennox thinks a hundred and fifty Copies will be sufficient, we are both greatly obligd to you for so kindly undertaking to manage this little affair<sup>1</sup>—permit me only to hint that as it is of great consequence to me to have the book presented to His Majesty, before I am quite forgot, the sooner you begin to treat with Mr Strahan<sup>2</sup> the better:

Doctor Johnson N <sup>r</sup> eight Bolt Court . Fleet Street	I am Sir Your grateful humble Servt CHARLOTTE LENNOX.
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*Letter XXVII.*

REVERND DOCTOR

I am Carting you Haue not hard of my Misfortunes howeuer I most Humbly on your good Nature being Assured by Sundry Examples of your Compssion that you will think of and take pity on, the Distressed, ther fore as an Obiect truly Des[eruing]<sup>3</sup> Compassion I most Humbly Implore and petion you to Consider the many losses and Disappointmentmes that I Haue met with in my Unlucky and wayward fortune wich haue Reduced me to Such Necessitous lo Circumstan that now being Sick and unabell to work

<sup>1</sup> The reprinting of Sully's Memoirs? See previous letter.

<sup>2</sup> Strahan, William, the King's Printer, *Life, passim*.

<sup>3</sup> Word completed by editor.

I hope you will be so good in this time of of Destress to Relleue me  
 my Name is John Burton Son of Charles Burton of Litchfeild I  
 marreid Mary Shaw Daughter of Robert Shaw wo Liued with  
 madam Johnson and Miss porter and Chetey Chambers<sup>1</sup> wich is all from

Your humble petitioner—

JOHN BURTON

Liuing at Nr 6 St Dunstons Court fleet Street.

I Liue under a very bad Land Lord wich I am afreed will Com  
 and Sease [my goods. I]<sup>2</sup> Expect him Every Day.

To

The Reverend

Docter Johnson.

*Letter XXVIII.*

DEAR SIR

I will give you the best Answer I am able. With regard to  
 the present Ministry, I will venture to say, I am certain (if that Term  
 may with any Propriety be applied to Matters of this Kind) they are  
 upon a permanent Footing. Even the Opposition begin now to  
 despair of being able to turn them out; and indeed as far as I am  
 able to judge nothing but some very heavy and unexpected Blow, and  
 such as we have at present no Reason to apprehend, can either  
 produce a Change, or render it necessary. My Opinion has long  
 been fixed, that no total Change of Ministry will take place during  
 the Present Reign. And if you will yourself for a moment consider  
 the Consequence of suffering them to force themselves into Power by  
 the Methods the present Opposition have taken—by rending the  
 Empire in pieces—you will easily see the Dangers of setting such an  
 Example to future Oppositions. At the same time, I cannot allow  
 myself to imagine, that our public Measures would admit of much  
 Alteration, into whatever Hands unforeseen Accidents may throw the  
 Reins of Government. To look back is fruitless and unnecessary.  
 The Question now is, Shall America remain a Part of the British  
 Empire or not?—It is in vain for the Colonists to say, "Set us down  
 as we were in 1762, and we shall be satisfied"—that is, Repeal every  
 Act relating to us since that time, and presume not to make any more.—  
 Terms so disgraceful, and on their part so arrogant, that I trust no

<sup>1</sup> "Madam" Johnson's maid, *Life*, i. 513-16, *Anecdotes Miscellanies*,  
 i. 156.

<sup>2</sup> MS. torn, words inserted by editor.

Ministry will ever dare to listen to, were we even reduced to the last Extremity, a Situation which I hope we are still at a great Distance from.

As for our Success in America, I have little doubt but by Perseverance, and a proper Exertion of our Naval Force, we shall at last bring them to reason. But if the Temper of that People continue as stubborn and inflexible as by all Accounts it is at present, the Impracticability of penetrating very deep into that Country with any Number of Land Forces we can, with any Convenience, transport thither, may occasion the War to be protracted to some Length.—But of our finally triumphing over their Insolence I entertain no manner of Doubt. By the last Advices from Boston the Troops lately sent out, were safely landed, and in high Spirits. General Gage proposed to march out of the town on the 14th of last Month, and attack the Provincials that besiege him. And as by the most authentic Accounts, they did not much exceed his Army in Number, tho' they might receive considerable Reinforcements from the surrounding Country by means of Signals they had provided for that purpose, yet it is not doubted but Gage would be able to put them all to flight. Some, indeed, think the Matter must be already decided. I am not so sanguine. But I think a good Drubbing will greatly disconcert the Leaders of the Rebellion, who now actually keep their deluded People in that slavish Subjection they with so little Reason apprehend we are preparing for them.—What great Events have been accomplished by the Unanimity of a body of Men struggling against *real Oppression*, there are not wanting many Examples in History ; but the Effects of the same Unanimity excited by Faction and *imaginary Grievances* remains yet to be seen. But I hope this Nation, which bore a high Rank in the World long before the Existence of her undutiful Children, after having carried her Thunder successfully to the most distant Quarters of the Globe will not suffer herself to be insulted with Impunity by those who owe everything to the Protection of her Arms.—The Anarchy which now reigns in America is dreadful. This Situation, were we only to keep upon the Defensive, must soon tire them out ; nay, if quicker Methods are found to be ineffectual, that very Anarchy must do the Business.—In the meantime all is quiet here. No Complaints from any of our great manufacturing Towns.—Even that absurd and disgraceful Crew, the Common Council of



London are become more moderate, and are beginning to learn a little Decency of Behaviour to their Betters. Upon the whole, I do not at all despair of the Republic, and I hope you don't.

I beg your Excuse for conveying the little Information I am able to give you in so many Words ; but I have no time to shorten this Narrative, and I was willing to give you as satisfactory an Answer as I was able.

My Wife and Family send their respectful Compliments. Mrs Williams desires also to be affectionately remembered to you, and is at present, she says, pretty well.

I am always, with great Esteem and Attachment

Dear Sir

London

Your faithful and obedient servant

July 22. 1775.

Will : Strahan.

#### MISCELLANEA.

I. A Latin distich, the second line of which is not readily deciphered. Perhaps the most probable reading is :

Hostem odit tacitè, sed amicum ridet aperte

Thralia.<sup>1</sup> Quid mavis ? tutius hostis eris.

II. An original draft in Johnson's hand of his epitaph on Mrs. Salusbury, and a copy of this draft in Mrs. Thrale's hand. There are variations from the printed version,<sup>2</sup> which are now given :—

Line 2. "Thomae Cotton de Combermere baronetti Cestriensis filia,"

Johnson's MS. "Thomae" is written over "Johannis" scored out, and "Baronetti" is inserted.

Mrs. Thrale's MS. has "Joannis" and "Baroneti."

Line 4. "Forma felix, felix ingenio ;"

Johnson's MS. "Foemina" is crossed out at the beginning of the line.

Line 6. "Linguis artibusque ita exulta."

Johnson's MS. "elegantionibus" has been scored through after "artibusque," and "ita exulta" has been added.

Mrs. Thrale's MS. has both "elegantionibus" and "ita exulta."

<sup>1</sup> The stop is uncertain, and therefore the reference of the first line to Thralia.

<sup>2</sup> *Miscellanies*, i. 236.

Line 13. "Multis illi multos annos precantibus."

Johnson's MS. "Quae" has been deleted at the beginning.

A word has been scored through after "multos."

Line 14. "diri carcinomatis veneno contabuit,"

Johnson's MS. has "Cancri insanabilis veneno contabuit."

Mrs. Thrale's MS. has "Cancri insatiabilis veneno contabuit."

III. There are two pages of notes in Johnson's hand evidently relating to a contemplated settlement of Mrs. Thrale's personal property upon her children. The notes may be dated about August, 1775, as Henry Salusbury Thrale is referred to in them as the only surviving son, and in August, 1775, Mrs. Thrale was in correspondence with Scrase about such a settlement. On the 17th August, 1775, she wrote to him, "I told you in my last Letter that I would settle nothing irrevocably till Dr. Johnson should return who was then in Derbyshire; he is now returned. He approves of everything exactly in the Form it now stands, except the part which insists on my Daughters taking and transferring the name of Salusbury to their Husbands." *Rylands MS.* 600.

Many early business letters of the Thrales have notes in Johnson's handwriting.

IV. A receipt of Henry Thrale to Mr. Johnson.

London 15 January 1771

Mr Johnson

Bou<sup>t</sup> of Henry Thrale

3 Cha. of Coals @ 30/-	4	10
paid for shooting		6
D <sup>o</sup> Measuring		3
D <sup>o</sup> Cartage		12
	£5	11

Received the Contents

for Henry Thrale Esq<sup>e</sup>

£5 11.

#### COMMENTARY.

##### *Letter I.*

Letter I. is in Johnson's handwriting, but is undated and unsigned, and is the most problematic of these letters. It appears to refer to the

regulation of Johnson's life in the Streatham household, but if this is assumed, the suggestions of isolation and confinement are peculiar to this letter and Johnson's vehement pleading for strict discipline and protest against the broken promises of Mrs. Thrale are without any close parallel in his other Letters. Only in his passionate reproach of his Mistress on her marriage with Piozzi does Johnson write to Mrs. Thrale with greater urgency than here. Yet the incident cannot be an isolated one, for he speaks of his numerous past solicitations of Mrs. Thrale for the observance of her promises and regulations, and we have her account in the *Anecdotes* of his times of mental agitation. Probably this mood was more likely to find expression in personal representations than in letters. The present letter can hardly refer to the earliest stages of his friendship with Mrs. Thrale, for he refers to her former care and protection.

In the published letters the few references, apart from the familiar "Master" and "Mistress," to the regulation of Johnson's habits by Mrs. Thrale occur early and are playful in spirit. Thus he reports to Mrs. Thrale on 7 July, 1771,<sup>1</sup> Miss Porter's opinion that he "is not half so *lounging* and *untidy* as he was." He writes to Thrale a few weeks later,<sup>2</sup> "I hope our dear mistress is got up and recovering. Pray tell her to mind, whether I am not quite wild for want of government ;" and to Mrs Thrale in the following month,<sup>3</sup> "Do you think that after all this roving you shall be able to manage me again ? I suppose like . . . that you are thinking how to redeem me ; but you may spare your contrivances." Even when he protests he is light-hearted, "You have read of heroes and princes ruined by flattery, and I question if any of them had a flatterer so dangerous as you. Pray keep strictly to your character of governess."<sup>4</sup> In the same spirit Mrs. Thrale writes to Johnson in an unpublished letter of the "iron Dominion of your most faithful and obedient servant."<sup>5</sup>

The tone in the present letter is a remarkable contrast, and it may possibly be explained by an undated letter<sup>6</sup> addressed by Mrs. Thrale to Johnson when staying at Streatham during the last illness of Mrs. Salusbury. The two letters appear to have been written to be

<sup>1</sup> *Letters*, i. 176.

<sup>2</sup> 31 July, 1771. *Ibid.*, i. 183.

<sup>3</sup> August 5, 1771. *Ibid.*, i. 186.

<sup>4</sup> Nov. 23, 1772. *Ibid.*, i. 200.

<sup>5</sup> June 7 [1775 ?]. *Rylands MS.* 539.

<sup>6</sup> *Rylands MS.* 539.

delivered within the house. Both contain references to confinement and solitude, to some danger that threatens Johnson, to the need for firm rule on the part of his Mistress, while Mrs. Thrale replies to reproaches of neglect, which might be read into Johnson's letter. In the more definite depiction of mental disturbance Mrs. Thrale's goes further than Johnson's.

Johnson refers to the "*solitude profonde*" in which he must pass part of the day, asks for a decision whether he should be confined to one part of the house or wander freely, and as regards table for a regime "*pratiquable sans bruit, et efficace sans peril.*" Mrs. Thrale writes, "Let not your fancy dwell upon Confinement and severity. I am sorry you are obliged to be so much alone, I foresaw some ill Consequences of your being here while my mother was dying thus ; yet could not resist the temptation of having you near me, but if you find this irksome and dangerous Idea fasten upon your fancy leave me to struggle with the loss of one Friend, and let me not put to hazard what I esteem beyond Kingdoms, and value beyond the possession of them.

If we go on together your Confinement shall be as strict as possible except when Company comes in, which I shall more willingly endure on your Account.

Dissipation is to you a glorious Medicine."

It is possible to read suggestions of neglect or want of consideration into Johnson's reference to "*une solitude profonde*" and to Mrs. Thrale's former care, "*si ce n'est trop d'esperer que je puisse être digne, comme auparavant, des soins et de la protection d'une ame si aimable par sa douceur ;*" and into his complaint that she has "*négligée l'exécution de ses propres lois*" and "*oubliée tant de promesses.*" Mrs. Thrale opens her letter on the note on which Johnson's ends, "What care can I promise my dear Mr Johnson that I have not already taken ? What tenderness that he has not already experienced ? . . . You were saying but on Sunday that of all the unhappy you was the happiest, in consequence of my attention to your complaint, and to-day I have been reproached by you for neglect."

Johnson says, "*j'espere tout de vôtre sagesse et je crains tout de vôtre douceur.*" Mrs. Thrale pleads, "and do not quarrell with your Governess for not using the Rod enough."

If Mrs. Thrale's letter can be regarded as an answer to this of Johnson, the key to her view of Johnson's mood is in her advice not to

"brood upon an Idea hateful in itself, but which your kind partiality to me has unhappily rendered pleasing," her reference to a "dangerous Idea," the idea of confinement. As Johnson had recently been happy, her letter suggests that left in loneliness in a house that death was approaching, he had been overcome by a sudden and temporarily irresistible onset of the emotion latent in him, so that he hesitated to use the freedom of the house and shunned company and the effort of self-control.

Mrs. Thrale has described in the *Piozzi Anecdotes* the disturbances of mind to which Johnson was subject in the early years of their friendship, and refers to "one day that he was totally confined to his chamber."<sup>1</sup> Boswell has glanced at what he considered her exaggeration of these moods.<sup>2</sup> Mrs. Thrale's letter, if it is a reply, travels beyond Johnson's in assigning a cause for his disturbance and in its suggestion of unhealthy brooding. Yet Johnson's betrays a strongly agitated mind. One cannot ignore his need for his Mistress's care, his fear of her gentleness, his reference to "ma faiblesse" and appeal for "une regime . . . efficace sans peril," or his horror at the recollection of past solicitations. If his letter arises out of his proximity to the dying Mrs. Salusbury, it may be relevant to note that the number of his letters on her illness in 1773 is significant of the hold it had taken of his mind. Though in these the emotion is controlled, there are deep sympathy and grief and an outburst of relief at better news, "When I see her I shall torment her with caressing her."<sup>3</sup> Boswell's remark on her death seems by comparison casual and inadequate to its significance for Johnson, "This year died Mrs. Salusbury, (mother of Mrs. Thrale), a lady whom he appears to have esteemed much, and whose memory he honoured with an Epitaph."<sup>4</sup>

Mrs. Thrale's letter to Johnson was written in the crisis of her mother's illness, and as Johnson was in London between December 11th, 1772 and Mrs. Salusbury's death on June 18th, 1773, it probably falls within that period. It may be noted that the description "governess," which she applies to herself in it, was used by Johnson in a letter of November 23rd, 1772. I have not otherwise noticed the word "governess" in the published letters. A date of December, 1772, to June, 1773, may therefore be suggested for Johnson's Letter I.

<sup>1</sup> *Miscellanies*, p. 200.

<sup>2</sup> *Life*, i. 66.

<sup>3</sup> *Letters*, i. 213.

<sup>4</sup> *Life*, ii. 263.



That Johnson should write such a letter in French is perhaps curious. He wrote letters in French to Miss Flint,<sup>1</sup> who was then in Paris, and to Madame La Comtesse de [Boufflers].<sup>2</sup> In both cases there is an obvious reason for using French. On June 5th, 1775, he wrote a short French letter to Mrs. Thrale from Oxford,<sup>3</sup> when the use of French can be regarded as due to the impulse of the moment. Among Johnson's occasional uses of French the nearest parallel is that once when "very ill he broke out in French. 'Ah, *priez Dieu pour moi*,' he exclaimed suddenly to Miss Burney, grasping her hand."<sup>4</sup>

Birkbeck Hill<sup>5</sup> suggests that the apparent weakness of Johnson in the use of French accents may be due to the printer. The MS. of the present letter shows that the responsibility lay with Johnson himself. Only one or two accents put in vertically leave any doubt as to Johnson's intention.

### *Letter II.*

Mrs. Thrale was at this time negotiating the sale of the Southwark brewery, the completion of which to Barclay she records on June 3rd, 1781.<sup>6</sup> Johnson was earnest in his conduct as one of Thrale's executors, and jealous for Mrs. Thrale's interest. He had been reserved towards Perkins, and wrote to Mrs. Thrale on April 16th, 1781, "I forbore, because I would not disturb you to tell you, that last week Mr [Perkins] came to talk about partnership, and was very copious. I dismissed him with nothing harsher than, *that I was not convinced*. . . . Mr [Perkins] made an oration flaming with the terriffick, which I discovered to have no meaning at all; for the result was, that if we stopped payment we should lose credit."<sup>7</sup> And next day he reported, "I have not had a second visit from Mr [Perkins] for he found his discourse was very unavailing. I was dry."<sup>8</sup> In the present letter he is duly suspicious and diplomatic towards the enemy. Mrs. Thrale was, however, pleased with the result of the sale, while thinking that those who succeeded her had "purchased the power of

<sup>1</sup> 31 March, 1769. *Letters*, i. 150.

<sup>2</sup> 16 May, 1771. *Ibid.*, i. 172.

<sup>3</sup> *Letters*, i. 324.

<sup>4</sup> Cited by Birkbeck Hill. *Letters*, i. 50 n. 2.

<sup>6</sup> *Letters* i. 355, n. 5.

<sup>6</sup> Hayward, *Mrs. Piozzi*, i. 144.

<sup>7</sup> *Letters*, ii. 216-17.

<sup>8</sup> *Ibid.*, i. 219.

being rich beyond the wish of rapacity."<sup>1</sup> There is nothing unfriendly in Johnson's short note of June 2nd 1781 to Perkins.<sup>2</sup>

*Letters III.-VII.*

These letters are a record of his ill-health during the first half of 1782. "In 1782,"<sup>3</sup> writes Boswell, "his complaints increased and the history of his life this year, is little more than a mournful recital of the variations of his illness, in the midst of which, however, it will appear from his letters, that the powers of his mind were in no degree impaired." While Johnson's medical sense was at ease with such sad records, Mrs. Thrale did not altogether approve of a "valetudinary" correspondence. Thus Johnson wrote good-humouredly with a comforting prospect before him,<sup>4</sup> "I am very well. Now we are both valetudinary, we shall have something to write about. We can tell each other our complaints, and give reciprocal comfort and advice, as—not to eat too much—and—not to drink too little, and we may now and then add a few strictures of reproof: and so we may write and write till we can find another subject." And Mrs. Thrale wrote in lively protest,<sup>5</sup> "You shall not have in me a valetudinary correspondent, who is always writing such letters, that to read the labels tyed on bottles by an apothecary's boy would be more eligible and amusing; nor will I live like Flavia in Law's Serious Call, who spends half her time and money on herself, with sleeping draughts and waking draughts and cordials and broths." More seriously she balanced praise and reproof on June 15th, 1783,<sup>6</sup> "I believe it is too true, my dear Sir, that you think on little except yourself and your own health, but then they are subjects on which everyone else would think too—and that is a great consolation."

Johnson sought relief in bleeding, and in March mentions three bleedings by which he has tried to relieve a cold that has distressed him since the middle of January.<sup>7</sup> These probably took place on January 26th and 28th and February 4th. On Monday, January 28th he

<sup>1</sup> Hayward, *Mrs. Piozzi*, i. 144-5.

<sup>2</sup> *Life*, iv. 118.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, iv. 136.

<sup>4</sup> From Lichfield, 20 Oct., 1781. *Letters*, ii. 228.

<sup>5</sup> 2 Nov. [1781], *Piozzi Letters*, ii. 212-13.

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.*, ii. 264.

<sup>7</sup> 18 March, 1782. *Diary, Miscellanies*, i. 102. 2 March, 1782, to Mrs. Porter. *Life*, iv. 142.

wrote to Mrs. Thrale, "I was blooded on Saturday; I think not copiously enough, but the Doctor would permit no more. I have however his consent to bleed again to-day;"<sup>1</sup> on February 4th to Mrs Strahan, "I tried yesterday to gain some relief by a third bleeding from a disorder which has for some time distressed me."<sup>2</sup> "This last Phlebotomy" of letter IV. took place on Thursday, March 14th;<sup>3</sup> it gave him some relief, an improvement in his health following. To these four bleedings of which Johnson takes count, Letter III. adds another on January 5th, unless it is to be supposed that the one contemplated on January 28th did not take place, which is less likely.

Letters V. and VI. follow on a new chill mentioned on April 30th to Mrs. Thrale.<sup>4</sup> Birkbeck Hill suggests that a bleeding was carried out in the first days of May,<sup>5</sup> and that of Letter VI. would be yet another, which Johnson writing to Mrs. Thrale on May 8th had hoped to escape.<sup>6</sup> We have thus two additions to an already sanguinary record, on which Birkbeck Hill has the comment, "He should have consulted Dr. Sangrado."<sup>7</sup>

In June Johnson sought "relief from change of air."<sup>8</sup> Letter VII. alludes to his contemplated visit to Oxford, which was duly carried out on June 10th, though the patient found "no particular salubrity in the Oxford air."<sup>9</sup>

#### *Letters VIII.-XVI.*

Letters VIII.-XVI. cover a period which is only represented in the *Piozzi Letters* by Johnson's of December 20th, 1782, and Mrs Thrale's of April 18th, 1783. Their existence justifies Birkbeck Hill's critical attitude to Hayward's reference to Mrs Thrale's of April 18th as a reply to Johnson's of December 20th.<sup>10</sup> This important group of new letters extends from November 30th, 1782, to March, 1783, and as these were critical months, it is of value for its bearing on Johnson's relations with Mrs. Thrale and on her character, though it offers but a very incomplete record. The period followed on the break-up of the "home" at Streatham, the stay of Mrs. Thrale and Johnson at Brighton,

<sup>1</sup> *Letters*, ii. 242.

<sup>2</sup> *Diary, Miscellanies*, i. 102.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, ii. 253, n. 3.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, ii. 253 n. 4.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*, ii. 258.

<sup>6</sup> *Life*, iv. 140.

<sup>7</sup> *Letters*, ii. 251.

<sup>8</sup> *Ibid.*, ii. 253.

<sup>9</sup> *Ibid.*, ii. 256.

<sup>10</sup> *Ibid.*, ii. 291, n. 2.

the settlement of Mrs. Thrale and Johnson in Argyle Street and Bolt Court respectively; it witnessed Mrs. Thrale's announcement and withdrawal of her intention to visit Italy, accompanied by fluctuation between hope and disappointment with regard to Piozzi; and it culminated in her departure for Bath worn out by the emotional strain, and her recall on the death of Harriet. Boswell has probably exaggerated the degree of estrangement that followed the departure from Streatham, and his statements<sup>1</sup> that he "was glad to find him (Johnson) at Mrs. Thrale's house in Argyle Street," on March 21st 1783, "appearances of friendship between them being still kept up," and that from what he saw he "imagined all to be as well as formerly," have been adversely criticized by Hayward.<sup>2</sup> That there was more than an appearance of friendship is from these letters certain, that all was "as well as formerly" is less clear.

The present letters reveal Johnson as devoted as ever in his friendship, though at the outset he is facing opposition with "sullen," if affectionate, resignation. The letter of November 30th (VIII.) is probably explained by the entry of December 1st in *Thraliana*:<sup>3</sup>—"The guardians have met upon the scheme of putting our girls in Chancery. . . . Nobody much applauded my resolution in going, but Johnson and Cator said they would not concur in stopping me by violence." When the meeting of the guardians took place it is not clear, nor what was the precise point of contention between Johnson and Mrs. Thrale, referred to in this letter of November 30th. But his letter must have arisen out of the agitation caused among the guardians by her determination to go to Italy, and she may have been trying to justify her determination or to argue that it would not disturb an old friendship. Johnson is unshaken by Mrs. Thrale's arguments, which only confirm him in his opinion that what is past is past. He writes as a man unconvinced, but resigned before the firmness of his friend, though he is not unhopeful of influencing her some day if she will hear him. By the date of the next letter, December 16th, he has melted indeed, and there is from now on every evidence of active friendship. He writes on three successive days, December 16, 17, 18; he is interested in her law-suit with Lady

<sup>1</sup> *Life*, iv. 164, 166.

<sup>2</sup> Hayward, *Mrs. Piozzi*, i. 198.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.* i. 191.

Salisbury, is tenderly concerned for her health and that of her daughters. Argyle Street is his Paradise. "My purpose was to have shared the gaiety of this evening and to have heard, Ye Gods! and to have seen, but a very dreadful night has intervened, . . ., it remains for me to dream if I can of Argyle Street" (Dec. 16). "I may perhaps not be long before I come and see you. Dum spiro, spero" (Dec. 18). On December 17, after sickness has prevented him from sharing the gaiety of Argyle Street, the Doctor pokes fun at her supposed volubility during the party.

Johnson is not equally certain of Mrs. Thrale's feelings towards him. His "if ever you will hear me" (Nov. 30) suggests that he has met with baffling determination and an assertion of Mrs. Thrale's independence calculated to make him doubt his influence. On December 20th he draws the self-pitying contrast, "You can hardly think how bad I have been while you were in all your altitudes at the opera."<sup>1</sup> On December 26th he feels deserted, "I have this day seen Mr. Allen, Hook, Compton, Walker, and Cambridge. But I have not seen those of whom I hoped never to have lost sight. This is the time of good wishes I hope." Later (March 30) he wishes her a sound sleep "whenever you are in good humour with your humble servant."

There is not a great deal of evidence from Mrs. Thrale herself and her actions to show her feelings, but it suggests that while neither inconsiderate of him in dispute nor incapable of responding to his desire for the old close connection, she was absorbed in the claims of a more complex social and emotional life. Johnson recognizes (March 31) that she has been carrying a load, of one part of which (her lawsuit or the ill-health of her children?) she is now relieved, and that her health has suffered. While asserting herself, Mrs. Thrale has considered his quiet "worth an apology" (Nov. 30). If her visits seem rare—and of course the evidence is incomplete—there is evidence of an impulsive response to Johnson's complaints. Johnson's sadness on December 26th gives way to the picture of him at Mrs. Thrale's next day, where Fanny Burney found him "very comic and good-humoured."<sup>2</sup> Is not the connection a visit from Mrs. Thrale in response to his plaintive note, which removed him from Bolt Court

<sup>1</sup> *Letters*, ii. 279.

<sup>2</sup> Cited by Birkbeck Hill. *Letters*, ii. 280.



and transformed his mood? That Mrs. Thrale preoccupied with legal affairs and the health of her family, with the crises of acceptance and renunciation of Piozzi and of conflict with her daughters, should move away from Johnson is not surprising. But this instance suggests that her friendship could be quickened and revived by his warmer, if more exacting emotion, while on Johnson's side it shows quick alternation of mood, his elation when he has evoked Mrs. Thrale's kindness, following immediately on melancholy brooding.

Letter XVI. goes some way towards vindicating Mrs. Thrale against Birkbeck Hill's charge of having abandoned her youngest daughters to strangers at a time of critical illness. In breathless agitation she announces to Johnson in her letter of Good Friday, 1783,<sup>1</sup> that "Harriet is dead, and Cicely is dying." Birkbeck Hill is very severe. "Why she had left her dying child, and the other who was thought to be dying to strangers to nurse she forgets to mention."<sup>2</sup> The new letter of March 31st makes it clear that by Johnson neither child was thought to be dying a few days before Mrs. Thrale left for Bath; quite the contrary. Johnson's letter begins, "I hope to hear again that my dear little girl is out of danger. It will now be pleasing to consider that she and her sister have past two of the ambushes of life, and that you may leave them at a distance with less anxiety." On April 5th Johnson records his parting from Mrs. Thrale, "I took leave of Mrs. Thrale. I was much moved. I had some expostulations with her. She said that she was likewise affected. I commended the Thrales with great good will to God; may my petition have been heard."<sup>3</sup> In view of the tone of Johnson's letter on Harriet's death<sup>4</sup>—"where there is no guilt, all is for the best"—it is reasonable to suppose that the "expostulation" of the *Diary* concerned Mrs. Thrale's affairs in general. It is charitable to assume that leaving London to escape from an emotional whirlpool, she shared Johnson's belief of March 31st that Harriet was on the road to recovery. She can hardly have been in Bath for more than a few days, when, as her letter of April 18th shows, she was plunged in an unexpected sorrow.

<sup>1</sup> There is a different version of this letter in a *Rylands MS.*, which is not however detrimental to Mrs. Thrale.

<sup>2</sup> *Letters*, ii. 291, n. 2. See Fitzgerald's *Critical Examination* for a justifiable but inaccurate criticism of this comment.

<sup>3</sup> *Diary, Miscellanies*, i. 111.

<sup>4</sup> *Letters*, ii. 292.

*Letters XVII.-XXI.*

This is distinctly an apothecary group. The devoted Thomas Davies on June 18th (Letter XXI.) draws for Mrs. Thrale at Bath a picture of the loneliness of his old patron, deprived of efficient female attention through the departure of Mrs. Desmoulins, and concealing his loss from the world ; and he conveys the news of the stroke that has overtaken Johnson. No doubt Davies regretted the absence of Mrs. Thrale, for he emphasizes her importance as the *female* friend of Johnson. Johnson himself wrote to Mrs. Thrale on the 19th, and had received a letter of sympathy by the 23rd.<sup>1</sup> The September and October letters (XVII.-XVIII.) amplify the account, already fairly full in the published Letters of the sarcocoele from which Johnson was suffering. On December 1st (Letter XIX.) Johnson hastens at the news that Mrs. Thrale is herself ill to give her the medical counsel in which he liked to indulge. He writes in this group affectionately, as to an interested friend, but not without signs of impatience. He admonishes Mrs. Thrale (Letter XVIII.) with an instance of friendship renewed, "*Sit tibi exemplo,*" and complains "If you can be short, I can be as short as you" (Letter XIX.). Letter XX. is a Latin note on his health, such as he usually wrote to Dr. Lawrence,<sup>2</sup> but which he may conceivably have sent to Mrs. Thrale.

*Letters XXII.-XXVII.*

No proof was needed of Johnson's reputation for benevolence or of the variety of his interests, but of these things the miscellaneous letters to Johnson are an excellent illustration. They amplify the existing evidence of his good-will towards one of the most distinguished of contemporary women of letters, Charlotte Lennox, and towards the kind-hearted but unlucky bookseller, Tom Davies ; and they bring to light new aspirants to his bounty in S. J. Pratt and John Burton. These last two correspondents both turn to Johnson because they have heard of his charity, but no two petitioners could be more unlike than they, and no two appeals could be more vividly contrasted in method and style than theirs. Pratt comes of an influential family ; a young sentimentalist, he has sacrificed family interest to the claims of love, has never in his short space of years known a day go down "in the calm

<sup>1</sup> *Letters*, ii. 306.<sup>2</sup> *Life*, iv. 143.

of perfect serenity," and is reduced by mental and pecuniary distress to desire a release from life from the Author of Nature. His sensitive soul shrinks from a pecuniary request. His letter has all the "tedious" rhetorical prolixity in the display of distress for which Richardson and Young had set the fashion. Though he apologizes for their neglect, his letter reveals a student of "the nicer points of literature," and he had evidently studied the *Rambler* to some purpose. His letter is no mean performance in a style now happily discarded. Burton is a "humble petitioner," a Lichfield connection of Johnson's family, who feels his appeal firmly supported by this tie. Embarrassed by no refinements of feeling, he goes straight to his point, and wastes no time in the exposition of his woes. The rhetoric of Pratt fades before the irresistible postscript climax of Burton, "I Lieue under a very bad Land Lord which I am afreed Will Com and Sease [my goods. I] Expect him Every Day." Johnson could hardly have resisted such an appeal, though the lexicographer may have smiled over the quaint spelling, and the critic pondered the rival claims of Nature and Art to that climax. Johnson was no advocate of submission to parents in the article of marriage. He might easily in spite of his advocacy and pursuit of the tranquil mind have been moved by Pratt's exposure of the agonies of the new sensitive soul, but not necessarily moved to facilitate a passage to Ireland and the Irish stage. If Pratt is the author S. J. Pratt, as seems probable, he entered the Church before appearing on the boards of Smock Alley Theatre, Dublin, in 1773, and it is not impossible that Johnson, biased against the stage as a profession, gave him some restraining, but ultimately ineffective counsel.

The letter of Henry Bright (XXIII.) refers to Ralph Plumbe, son of Alderman Plumbe and one of the beautiful Thrale sisters. Johnson had written on January 9th, 1770, to ask Bright if he was willing to take another pupil in the way that he had taken George Strahan, adding, "You will, I think, have more trouble with him, and therefore ought to have a higher price."<sup>1</sup> Bright's present letter of March 24th, 1771, and two earlier letters of his to Mr. and Mrs. Thrale<sup>2</sup> are entirely devoted to a consideration of Ralph's education and progress, and we gain a clear view of a young scapegrace, very different from the other pupils in whom Johnson took an interest at different times, George

<sup>1</sup> *Letters*, i. 157-8.

<sup>2</sup> *Rylands MS.* 536.

Strahan<sup>1</sup> and "Dick" Burney.<sup>2</sup> He is of "a dissipated turn," and has been guilty of unauthorized dealings with a Tooting tailor. In the vacation he has appeared at Streatham to be a complete dunce. Bright extenuating this performance to Mrs. Thrale gives an amusing glimpse of it. "Sometime after my Scholar's Return Here on repeated Observations and Experiments I found that Esquire Ralpho was not quite so mere a *rasa Tabula* as He certainly seem'd under a public Examination before the formidable Triumvirate, yourself presiding at the Board. To be short, I discovered that however ignorant He really was in respect of common English, and ordinary things, He had not entirely forgotten all his Instructor had told Him, But that under the Terrors of a formal Examination He was only for a time bereft of what Intelligence he possess'd a little before, and consequently the Power of shewing what had been taught Him, as he since has averred with Tears in his Eyes, in which I am not hard of Belief, as often as I recollect How much I felt myself when young under a publick Examination both at School and University." Though not over-flattering Bright had formed a higher opinion of his pupil than Mrs. Thrale and Johnson. He reports to Mrs. Thrale on his recent exemplary conduct, and recounts another examination at Abingdon, "Who sh<sup>d</sup> knock at my Door but Mr Strahan, to whom having communicated the Substance of y<sup>r</sup> Letter, and acquainted Mr Plumbe who was come, and ask'd Him if it w<sup>d</sup> confuse Him to be examin'd by Mr S. He replied immediately with great Goodnature and Cheerfulness, *Not at All*—Up went Mr Strahan, and y<sup>e</sup> young Spark was put to Virgil's Eclogues, when he was thought to acquit Himself not unhandsomely Both in construing and parsing." Bright promises Mrs. Thrale "You shall see of his own unassisted Performances in various ways before it be long." It is evident from the letter to Johnson that some of these performances have been sent, and that the sceptical Doctor has been suspicious of the backward one's progress, even to the point of calling in question the honour of his good friend.

Johnson had given advice about Ralph's instruction which met with approval. Bright writes to Mrs. Thrale, "I beg leave to signify

<sup>1</sup> *Letters, passim.*

<sup>2</sup> Broadley, *Dr. Johnson and Mrs. Thrale*, p. 127.

that I have not yet misunderstood Mr Johnson in Respect to y<sup>e</sup> Fables he recommended, which were I well remember y<sup>e</sup> Latin Fables of Æsop to be construed and translated into English by the Scholar, and the Substance afterwards of Both Fable and Moral to be repeated from his Memory. Thus far we are All agreed." From the present letter of March 24th it would appear that by way of relief from the ardours of a classical education, Johnson has been advocating the reading of *Persian Tales*. In view of the moral and philosophic nature of his own oriental tales, it is quite probable that he had in mind moralistic imitations of the original *Persian Tales*, as calculated to benefit this pupil. He would hardly have entered cordially into Bright's selection of robust rogue literature. But the son of Alderman Plumbe, though his father read Shaftesbury's *Characteristics* on a Sunday, evidently had a stronger palate.

"Esquire Ralph's" reported progress in Latin did not modify the opinion held at Streatham of his intelligence. Mrs. Thrale writes to Johnson,<sup>1</sup> July 22nd, 1771, having heard that Plumbe contemplates marriage for his son and wishing the Doctor to share the joke, "Marry the Scoundrel ! exclaims my Master, Marry the Booby ! exclaims my Mother, Marry the Idiot ! will Mr Johnson exclaim likewise : but as he has finish'd his studies you know, and 'tis at least as well as *hanging*." <sup>2</sup>

Charlotte Lennox (Letter XXV.) appeals to Johnson in a dispute about copyright, then a vexed question. He was an old admirer of her

<sup>1</sup> *Rylands MS.*, 538.

<sup>2</sup> The new letters seem to confirm Birkbeck Hill's conjecture that the unteachable pupil of the *Piozzi Anecdotes* was the boy referred to in Johnson's letter to Bright, of 9 January, 1770. In the account of the Abingdon pupil's examination by Strahan, Bright mentions questions on the history of Rome from Romulus to Lucius Florus. Possibly the reason for putting them was the unsuccessful questioning of the *Anecdotes*, *Miscellanies*, i. 294, which may be assigned to the Streatham "triumvirate." The identification of this scholar of the *Anecdotes* with Ralph Plumbe seems probable. Mrs. Piozzi must then have disposed very summarily of a youth whose coaching was being arranged in January, 1770, and marriage some eighteen months later, for she speaks of the scholar of the *Anecdotes* as dying consumptive, after having "plagued us all for nine or ten months." Again "young Plumbe" is mentioned in connection with the settlement of Mrs. Thrale's personal estate in 1775. (See *ante*, p. 61.) If this is Ralph there is a further obstacle to the identification, unless Mrs. Piozzi's account in the *Anecdotes* is very careless.



work ; had reviewed her translation of Sully's *Memoirs* on its first appearance in 1756,<sup>1</sup> and in Birkbeck Hill's opinion her *Female Quixote*,<sup>2</sup> 1752 ; and in 1775 he issued proposals for publishing her works.<sup>3</sup> He regarded her as the superior of Mrs. Carter, Hannah More, and Fanny Burney.<sup>4</sup> She had consulted him about copyright on behalf of her husband in June, 1777.<sup>5</sup> She now turns to him for help against Dodsley and his partners. The copyright of her translation of Sully's *Memoirs* was hers under the statute of 1709,<sup>6</sup> and by the recent decision of the House of Lords in 1774.<sup>6</sup> The publishers had not however entirely abandoned their claim at common law to perpetual copyright, for they might as in the case of the English poets preserve the "honorary copyright" "by mutual compact, notwithstanding the decision of the House of Lords against the perpetuity of Literary Property."<sup>7</sup> Possibly this accounts for the attitude of Dodsley and his partners. Johnson was in favour of granting copyright for a hundred years,<sup>8</sup> though he considered a perpetual copyright an infringement of the natural claims of the human mind.<sup>9</sup> As between author and publisher he wanted a reasonable compromise. He condemned Mason in 1778, possibly the year of Charlotte Lennox's two letters, for refusing an equitable arrangement with Murray about fifty lines of his that had been printed in a collection of Gray's Poems.<sup>10</sup> But Charlotte Lennox had offered her revised translation to Dodsley "for a reasonable consideration." If Letter XXVI. refers to the same transaction, Johnson in this case must have considered the right to lie with Mrs. Lennox, and have offered to treat with Strahan for a limited issue. Perhaps the project with Strahan fell through. In 1778 J. Dodsley and other publishers issued a new edition of the translation of Sully.

The *Memoirs* were in fact frequently reprinted<sup>11</sup> and though there were legitimate reprints up to 1770, Charlotte Lennox suffered also by the piracies of Donaldson, which Johnson so strongly

<sup>1</sup> *Life*, i. 309.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, i. 367, n. 1.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, iv. 289.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, iv. 275.

<sup>5</sup> 17 June, 1777. Broadley, *Dr. Johnson and Mrs. Thrale*, p. 126.

<sup>6</sup> Article on copyright in *Ency. Brit.*

<sup>7</sup> *Life*, iii. 370.

<sup>8</sup> *Ibid.*, i. 437.

<sup>9</sup> *Ibid.*, ii. 259.

<sup>10</sup> *Ibid.*, iii. 394.

<sup>11</sup> Lowndes, *Bibliographer's Manual*.

condemned,<sup>1</sup> and which brought the copyright issue to a head in 1774.

Letter XXVIII. has been included in this collection. It is of intrinsic interest as an example of English opinion on the war with the American Colonies. Whether it is addressed to Johnson is doubtful. Strahan sends remembrances to his friend from Mrs. Williams, and Johnson was out of town in the Midlands in July, 1775, but the opening information at least hardly seems of a kind that Johnson would have needed to receive from Strahan.

<sup>1</sup> *Life*, i. 437. The Manchester City Library has a reprint by A. Millar and R. & J. Dodsley, 1761. The Chetham Library, Manchester, has a reprint by Donaldson, 1770, sold Arundel Street, London and Edinburgh.

## THREE DIALOGUES BY HESTER LYNCH THRALE

FROM THE HITHERTO UNPUBLISHED ORIGINAL MANUSCRIPT NOW  
IN THE POSSESSION OF THE JOHN RYLANDS LIBRARY.

EDITED, WITH AN INTRODUCTION,

BY M. ZAMICK, M.A.

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OF MANCHESTER.

MRS. Thrale was scarcely a poet worth deep consideration, and she was never truly a great biographer, possibly because she never had time to be. The Three Dialogues which now come before the reader are part of a series of interesting writings that now lie in John Rylands Library, and include a small play entitled "The Fountains," and a series of didactic and informative dialogues called "Una and Duessa." The challenge which the Three Dialogues undoubtedly make is to consider Mrs. Thrale in some way other than a significant event in Dr. Johnson's life; other than a recorder of his sayings and mannerisms and faithful reflector of his character; and to put her once more into the circle of amateur Bluestockings where she rightfully belongs. Three Dialogues, which are not didactic, which are not simple "theatricalisings" of conversations (as Miss Burney calls such things), which are not a series of studiously or otherwise written letters, nor a writing up of travels with a famous literary figure, but which, written in 1779, challenge in lightness, wit, and significance, the skill of the great Fanny Burney in the Diary of that year, and the reputation for wit and drama which Mrs. Montagu had set up, half a generation before, in the twenty-seventh dialogue of Lyttleton's "Dialogues of the Dead," are an amazing find after these years.

No reader can possibly mistake Mrs. Thrale's Dialogues for

something which they are not. They are as witty and as direct and effective as Miss Burney's characterisations, and they definitely put the work of Mrs. Montagu (comic as it is) into the shade.

The many things from the hand of Mrs. Thrale which we now possess seem to lack the fine touch which both these other women displayed with such well-deserved applause and literary reputation, and which took Miss Burney out of the amateur status, and gave Mrs. Montagu a free passage either way she preferred to go, if she could.

If one remembers Mrs. Montagu's Dialogue between Mercury and Mrs. Modish, and omits the definition of the Bon Ton, what remains is simple satire set in speeches, the sort of Dialogue (dangerously near in kin to the didactic) in which the characters without being anything or anybody in particular, inform you what sort of criticism you ought to pass on the type. Mrs. Montagu did it wittily, if not wholly dramatically, but she invited a dramatic and comic criticism. She was stylish, she was almost dramatic, but, as her friends said, also very "satirical." Mrs. Modish says

My friends always told me diversions were necessary, and my Doctor assured me dissipation was good for my Spirits; my husband insisted that it was not, and you know that one loves to oblige one's friends, comply with one's Doctor, and contradict one's husband.

Whatever comedy may be, this is not the kind of comedy we find in Mrs. Thrale's Dialogues. They advance with growing confidence and certainty from the rather formal first Dialogue, set in Mrs. Vesey's Assembly, to the freedom and easy scope of the third Dialogue, each one based simply on a rising quarrel and a peacemaker. The distinction between the work of the two women is not merely that Mrs. Modish is a general figure, and that Johnson, and Burke, and Pepys are individuals. The fact is that Johnson, Burke, Pepys, Mrs. Montagu, are not simply a feeble filling-up of empty hulks as if Mrs. Thrale merely used a name. In the most formal of the Dialogues each personality is for the briefest moment distinct and energetic, yet the compass is so small that although Johnson is Johnson, he is the Johnson who later flung himself so terribly at Pepys over the Lyttleton scandal, and the bewildered Pepys is something that looks like a caricature of Pepys. There is indeed an uneasy element of formality and limitation that makes Mrs. Thrale and Mrs. Montagu allied. However that may be, there is already in the first Dialogue a distinc-

tion, a certain absence of Mrs. Thrale as commentator, that increases through the rest of the work to the final Dialogue, which, in its greater scope and multiplication of characters and freer spirit, outweighs what, in the first especially, and somewhat in the second, was the value of simple cameo.

It is praise for Mrs. Thrale if we say, that although Johnson and Burke act like the people in Boswell and in Miss Burney's Diary, Mr. Seward acts like a man in a play, which indeed he is. Mrs. Montagu may be satirised, Johnson may be faithfully portrayed, but Seward's behaviour in his lodgings and his cheerful promenade through the dumps at Lady Lade's reception is comic; whether it is high comedy or low comedy very few of us will think it worth while to debate. In distinction and wit the second Dialogue stands apart, and gains in force what it lacks in scope. The speeches of Cator and Norman may partake of the power that lies behind the reports in Miss Burney's Diary and Letters, but the rising deftness and brilliance of Baretti is a stroke of genius that must have surprised Mrs. Thrale herself.

In her preface, Mrs. Thrale invites a comparison with Swift in his poem on his death, a comparison which holds good only in those parts where some comment is introduced on her own life and on the companions she thought fit for herself and her daughter. Yet the position is obviously different: "Suppose me dead," wrote the Dean,

Suppose me dead; and then suppose  
A Club assembled at the Rose;  
Where, from discourse of this and that,  
I grow the subject of their chat.

Swift meant to illustrate Rochefoucault's maxim,

In all distresses of our friends,  
We first consult our private ends;  
While nature, kindly bent to ease us,  
Points out some circumstance to please us.

While the purpose occasionally holds, the process is inverted in the Dialogues, Mrs. Thrale being the subject of the chat, which then goes on to this and that, and develops into portraiture of the speakers, if not into a comic scene. However, the Dialogues may best speak for themselves.



A few words may not be amiss on Mrs. Thrale herself,<sup>1</sup> about whose life and work we shall shortly learn more than has been known before. When Miss Burney met her in 1777 she was about thirty-six years old : "a sweet creature, and never angry ; she has a temper the most delightful of any woman I ever knew." Two years later Mrs. Thrale completed the Dialogues, in the midst of grave family and financial worries, throughout which she remained energetic and active. Considering the precarious health of her husband, the thoughts of her own death may have been often enough before her. That she should choose this manner of reflecting upon it, and diverting her mind from it, is another proof of her remarkable and essential vitality, alone amongst a troop of drooping and irritating companions, by many of whom she was later deserted in the face of the public scandal in which she found herself over her marriage to Piozzi in 1784.

The public had long known her as a name associated with those of Mrs. Montagu and Horace Walpole, something on which to tack a witticism in a jest-book, and to consider as part of the tribunal of literary merit, either to be scoffed at or revered. It thus fell to professional libellers and comedians to ridicule her when she became an object of public contempt, as in Peter Pindar's not so brilliant "Bozzy and Piozzi," or in the equally wounding defence offered by the enemy of her class, Charles Pigott, in the "Female Jockey Club."<sup>2</sup> Pigott, a man of some ability, but obscure and virulent and regularly obscene,

<sup>1</sup> With considerable complacency, Mrs. Piozzi copied out the following lines on herself by an admirer :

"Conundrum—

Why is Mrs. Piozzi like a Kaleidoscope?  
The brilliant Colours that appear  
Shine like her Wit, *distinct and clear* ;  
While Fancy's fleeting magic Power  
Combines to charm each *varying* hour :  
Giving to Trifles light as wind  
The Lustre of her Powerful Mind ;  
Imparting Pleasure and Surprise  
Delighting still our Heart and Eyes."

"I keep the original manuscript," she adds, ". . . so don't think I write comp. to myself."

<sup>2</sup> "Female Jockey Club," *The Bluestocking Jockeys*, 1794. The Blues are also victims of the wit of Peter Pindar.

was associated with the publisher Lee who was frequently in trouble for his revolutionary publications, and he chose to preface his account of her with Boileau's question :

Ay' j'encore depeint la femme bilieuse,  
*La Pedante au ton fier, la Bourgeoise ennuyeuse,*  
 Celle qui d'elle meme fait son seul entretien,  
 Celle qui toujours parle, et ne dit jamais rien ?

In his account, which may be quoted simply because it attempts to run counter to the general attitude of the time, there is much forced scurrility and a good deal of downright ignorance. He makes full play of the material which offered itself in the marriage of a widow of wealth to an Italian musician, but he has something to say of her literary ability :

The private life of this Lady has been scrutinised with much freedom, and criticism appears to have laid aside candour in examining her literary productions. Peter Pindar has ridiculed her unmercifully. *Jemmy Boswell has cut her up* ; and Baretti has abused her. . . . Dr. Johnson also, who had long been a friend to the family, uttered according to his eccentric manner, some *growling* sarcasms. . . . The Signora's literary talents are above mediocrity ; her life of Johnson is full of requisite information, certainly far superior to any similar production from her *learned* male competitors. Her poetry is by no means contemptible. The account of her travels with her present beloved lord and master is enriched by accurate observations, as well as by a faithful delineation of national character, and may be reckoned her best production. Having been many years in most intimate habits with that renowned bully of literature, Dr. Johnson, she has imbibed all his prejudices, to which she is bigoted with an invincible obstinacy.

This was the age when educated women, like bright school children, were "writing well." There was a consciousness of the affinity of criticism and literary talent that created the literary assemblies, the object of which seemed to be the well-mixing of genius and manners. It was in such an atmosphere that the spare moments of women of talent were spent in what were definitely "literary exercises" in prose and verse, largely inspired by the conversation of the night before in the salons. Out of such an orgy of conversation and verbal debate it is remarkable that we should get anything at all, apart from criticisms and reflections, and political examinations of criticisms. But occasionally there emerged a piece of work, by its very nature "witty," that is worth the preservation.

"I heard," cries another, "at Cadell's, today,  
 That Johnson's in town, and is writing away;  
 I was charm'd with his Milton; what judgement and spirit!  
 Mr. Regicide, sure you'll allow this has merit?  
 You've read it no doubt, Sir."—"Not I, Sir, indeed—  
 Read Johnson!—I'd sooner subscribe to the creed. . . ."  
 "Gud Sir," cries a Scot, springing up from behind,  
 And presenting his snuffbox, "you're quite o' my mind;  
 Tho' the doctor would fain give all poets the law,  
 O'er the spirit of verse he knows nothing at a'.  
 In spite of his critique, I canna perceive,  
 What there is in your poem of Adam and Eve;  
 An' you read Ossian, Milton canna ga down,  
 'Tis like after a virgin a mess o' the toun:  
 On this subject the Doctor does nothing but dream,  
 For he is too purblind to ken the sublime—" <sup>1</sup>

Out of all this argument and the stretching of presumptuous wits, the graciousness of Mrs. Thrale's work and its real quality gave us, for once, these pictures of her friends, in a setting which was different from that of the other assemblies mainly because of her own nature and culture. But the question of Mrs. Thrale's character and her own peculiar importance and greatness of personality has been examined in the past and will be re-estimated in the near future, when once the new papers in the Rylands Library are at the disposal of such scholars as will tackle the problem anew.

All human race would fain be wits,  
 And millions miss for one that hits.

### THE PERSONALITIES.

A little knowledge of the characters and persons who talk in the ensuing Dialogues is necessary, since Mrs. Thrale wrote for herself and those of her friends who knew them all very well in everyday life. It will be found, however, so far as the more notorious people are concerned, that the pictures tally with what has since become a common body of information, and the handiest source of reference is always Fanny Burney's "Diary and Letters." What little flesh and blood can be added to supplement Mrs. Thrale's sketches of temperaments in collision, and elucidate her peculiarly domestic allusions, is a gratifyingly meagre quantity, and should always be so if the attention of the

<sup>1</sup> *Modern Manners: In a series of Familiar Epistles, "A Conversation,"* 1782: Chas. Hoole.

reader is to be primarily on the wit of the Dialogues themselves, and not on the biographies of the interlocutors. Indeed, the contribution to biography made by the Dialogues, at this time of the day, is nil.

MRS. VESEY (the "Bluestocking of Mayfair") had her salon in Bolton Street, Piccadilly, at the date of the Dialogues, and was famous not so much for her own wit, as for being a centre for that of others. Her arrangement of her guests being governed by a single principle, to prevent them from forming anything that looked like a circle about her, certainly tended to break any lecture-like formality in her receptions, but tended also to the isolated groupings which perplexed a visitor and which only Mrs. Vesey's social genius could prevent from becoming unbearable rudeness.

Then they got into parties as suited them best,  
Each set by themselves, turn'd their backs on the rest :  
To be sure such a gay people knew well what was right,  
But I should have thought it not quite so polite.<sup>1</sup>

In circumstances much like these, Mrs. Thrale presents isolated groups at each end of the room, between which the chatter of Mr. Pepys jumps back and forward, while Mrs. Vesey herself does not tarry for the first compliment ; she was too busy waving her wand and breaking the circles.

See VESEY'S plastic genius make  
A Circle every figure take ;  
Nay, shapes and forms, which would defy  
All Science of Geometry.<sup>2</sup>

It was about Mrs. Vesey, Mrs. Montagu and Mrs. Thrale that the main body of Bluestockings were content to circle, and a disturbance in any of these houses inevitably led to a dispersion of the corps.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *Modern Manners*, cit.

<sup>2</sup> *The Bas Bleu : or Conversation*, 1787 : Hannah More.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. *Rylands MSS.*, Misc. Letters to H.L.P. From Sir Lucas Pepys, 21 July, 1785 :

"And all the Blue Regiment were disbanded by the death of Mrs. Vesey, & the Marriage of Mrs. Montagu's Nephew, which prevented both those Houses being open & of Course the whole Corps were dispersed."

An additional interest of this volume of MSS resides in the references to Mrs. Piozzi's "Anecdotes" and her famous retraction of her judgment on Mrs. Montagu : "I wish," writes Pepys on 15 Dec., 1785, "you could in your Anecdotes soften down the above Harsh Criticism on a Sister Author."

The portrait of SAMUEL JOHNSON is so ready to everybody's mind, that we need only remind ourselves of the most pertinent details. In 1777 Miss Burney described him as ill-favoured, tall and stout, stooping so much as to be almost bent double. It seemed that he was "the most silent creature" unless he was "particularly drawn out." Next year Miss Burney became aware of the freedom with which Dr. Johnson condemned everything of which he disapproved, and thought his readiness to use strong words to people to be "intolerable."

"Madam," said Johnson, "I am always sorry when I make bitter speeches, and I never do it but when I am insufferably vexed." To which Mrs. Thrale replied, "Yes, sir, but you suffer things to vex you, that nobody else would vex at."

Nevertheless Mrs. Piozzi put it on record in her "Anecdotes," that the Doctor considered himself "well-bred to a degree of needless scrupulosity":

"No man," continued he, not observing the amazement of his hearers, "no man is so cautious not to interrupt another; no man thinks it so necessary to appear attentive when others are speaking; no man so steadily refuses preference to himself, or so willingly bestows it on another, as I do."

The vehemence and candour of his attacks in dispute are reflected over and over again in diaries and remembrances of the man.

Johnson's "fear of death" is become one of the most commonly possessed but least understood pieces of information about him. If Johnson might have done it, he would have set on Death in much the same way in which he set on Pepys: and in the Dialogues, after all, he is more concerned with those images of desolation that accompany memories of happy times. Be that as it may, Mrs. Piozzi tells us that "few things offended him more, than prognosticating even the death of an ordinary acquaintance. . . . The danger then of Mr. Garrick, or of Mr. Thrale . . . was an image which no one durst present before his view."

His distaste for Pepys is better known from the later quarrel over the "Life of Lyttleton," but here we see that Johnson had established a habit of snarling at Pepys some years before that incident.

The part of peacemaker falls, as one might expect, on Johnson's friend, EDMUND BURKE, for whom he felt an extraordinary regard and affection that transcended every kind of difference, including the



political one mentioned in the Dialogues over the Keppel affair. The remarkable brilliance and wisdom of Burke was generally acknowledged by his enemies, although mainly with the object of having his politics appear the worse. Dr. Johnson's lapse into spitefulness gives Burke the occasion to break up his attack on Pepys by interposing a defence of Keppel. The flow of words is stopped, Pepys is permitted to retreat and Johnson is soothed by his friend without finding himself exactly in the right over the affair, for although perhaps morally justified in protecting himself, he has forgotten to bear with a fool, and has wilfully struck at a harmless creature, and for Johnson, remorse is inevitable.

The well-meaning but fatuous efforts of WILLIAM WELLER PEPYS, Master in Chancery, do not lead to a continuance of the friendly conversation in Mrs. Vesey's home. Fanny Burney called him "Prime Minister to Mrs. Montagu," with whom he continued to be the best of friends. Although the picture of Pepys is a strictly Streatham portrait, he does not appear to possess "stores inexhaustible of entertainment," and, indeed, unwarily confesses so much to the reader in his letters.<sup>1</sup> Writing to his friend W. Franks with reference to a slightly untoward incident, he says,

. . . the account you gave of getting into a front box instead of an upper box was too long and circumstantial for the Importance of the Catastrophe. This I happen to remember because I very often catch myself at relating a story with many circumstances, when perhaps at last, the final Event is not at all interesting, which is certainly a fault in conversation, tries the company very much, and entitles the Relator to the modern application of a "BOAR" . . . it requires some habit of observation to mark the exact Line where the Company begin to feel they have had enough. . . .

There was everything good about Pepys, especially his intentions ; his style is a trifle sententious, however, and he may have carried it into his conversation.

A man may continue to read notwithstanding his Wigg and gown are hanging in his closet, tho' I acknowledge that Attendance upon courts is a most cruel destroyer of Time.<sup>2</sup>

Although Pepys was Laelius in Hannah More's "Bas Bleu," he was always "the Old Gentleman" to his College friends.

<sup>1</sup> "A Modern Pepys," *Gaussen*: Collected Letters of W. W. Pepys: p. 179.

<sup>2</sup> Pepys to Franks: *ibid.*, 10 Aug., 1778.

In 1781 Pepys wrote to Mrs. Montagu on 4 August, of his trying argument with Johnson over Lyttleton, which in a way is anticipated in the "Dialogues on the Death of Mrs. Thrale." Pepys tried to defend his friend, "but such a day did we pass in disputation . . . as I trust it will never be my fate to pass again." Mrs. Piozzi wrote that Johnson did not love Pepys but respected his abilities, and that he was sorry he had provoked a man who was defending his dead friend. Yet Johnson had set on him, and, like a page in the Dialogues, Miss Burney reports, "called him off, and harangued and attacked him with . . . vehemence and continuity. . . ." It happened again on 29 October, 1782, over some lines from Gray and Pope's definition of Wit. Pepys "was hurt and piqued beyond all power of disguise, and in the midst of the discourse, suddenly turned from him, and wishing Mrs. Thrale good-night very abruptly withdrew." In general the position was this :

"He (Johnson) so red, poor Mr. Pepys so pale."

At Streatham it was generally recognised that Pepys should "pant in admiration" of Mrs. MONTAGU, whose wit in the first Dialogue is set out without much flattery, being shown moving heavily from learned witticisms to no less forced if less weighty comparisons: her best remark (that on Mrs. Thrale's prodigious strong nerves) comes spontaneously, but the spontaneity is unfortunately that of Mrs. Thrale, who with a wicked turn, makes Mrs. Montagu repeat it. In 1779 Mrs. Montagu was not so young, and her reputation had been made years before. Nevertheless she still held the respect and admiration of her acquaintances, and Mrs. Thrale dared not assume more than an equal station with her. Miss Burney tells us that at this time Mrs. Montagu was in "very great estimation" at Streatham, Dr. Johnson praising her knowledge and conversation, and Mrs. Thrale almost claiming a position for her beside Johnson and Burke themselves. In 1774 Miss Scott, in the "Female Advocate," had praised her, not so much skillfully as enthusiastically, without mentioning Mrs. Thrale: while in 1778<sup>1</sup> it could be still said of her as a public character

<sup>1</sup> "Modern Characters from Shakespeare," London, 1778, containing quotations for Beauclerk, Burke, Johnson, Sir John Lade (Lady Lade's son), Mrs. Montagu, Miss More (a wicked reference to her "Percy"), Reynolds, and others. It may well be the compilation of one of the Johnson-Streatham Circle.

For in her age  
There is a prone, and speechless dialect,  
Such as moves men ! besides she hath prosperous art  
When she will play with reason, and discourse ;  
And well she can persuade.

It is unfortunate that so much stress has been placed on Mrs. Montagu's charity to the chimney sweeper's apprentices on May-Day, although such a thing, along with her share with Hannah More in shepherding Mrs. Yearsley before the public, does help to make clearer the essentially amateur and personal status of the Blue Stockings : the "roast-beef and plumb-pudding once a year on the lawn" put the uncompromising political and literary enemies of the wealthy amateurs too frequently in mind of the "sympathising guardians" whose protection did not last out till next morning, and who complacently saw poets avoid the tortures of starvation by suicide. Citizen Pigott (whose venom and whose libellous imagination were seldom restrained before these superior amateurs and patrons of genius) remembered against the Female Academy the fate of Chatterton.<sup>1</sup>

Two names in the speech of Johnson call for some comment. TOPHAM BEAUCLERC, whose behaviour (according to Mrs. Piozzi's "Anecdotes") was a source of constant admiration to Johnson because in society it appeared to be so effortless, is said to have led a gay life, but to have been also a close friend of Johnson's. He was dangerously ill in 1775 and died in 1780. His name is brought in to illustrate a general case ; the name of KEPPEL, however, carries a political sting along with it. It seems to be clear that Admiral Keppel, although engaged against the French, had enemies in the Government who encouraged the accusations made against him by his subordinate Palliser, who applied for his commander's Court Martial after the incident of 27 July. A short contemporary account of the affair is as follows :<sup>2</sup>

On the 23d. of the same month, he came in sight of the French Fleet : and finding them backward to come to a decisive action, he resolved to give chase, and on the 27th. the engagement began, in which the French met with so warm a reception that they stood off, unwilling to hasard the event of a close and general contest.

<sup>1</sup> Pigott, *op. cit.*

<sup>2</sup> "Description of the Freedom Box voted by the City of London," Nov. 1779, *A Succinct Account of His Public Services.*

The disabled ships prevented an immediate pursuit, and the Vice-Admiral of the Blue, neglecting to obey the signal for renewing the attack, the enemy availed themselves of the opportunity, and, favoured by night, took shelter in their own port. The Admiral then returned to Plymouth to refit.

After a short time he sailed again, and continued at sea for some time; the French always carefully avoiding the station he kept. Some time after his return he found, to his great surprise, that the Vice-Admiral of the Blue, whose disobedience was overlooked for the sake of preserving unanimity in the service, charged him with misconduct, and the neglect of duty on the 27th. and 28th. of July.

Although a year had passed, in 1779 the arguments over the "French victory" continued; Keppel was acquitted and presented in February with the Freedom of the City. The importance of the defeat with regard to British prestige at sea was the point that lay behind the bickerings on both sides, the odium shifting gradually but wholly to the shoulders of Palliser:

. . . . that France should so suddenly emerge from the Ruins of the last War, from the Grave of Destruction should so suddenly start up so formidable in her Marine, or to dare even to face a British Fleet confessedly the best fitted out, and the best accomplished this Nation ever sent out. . . .

If all had performed their Duty, if Signals had been obeyed, if the Battle had been renewed again . . . it was an Hundred to One . . . but we had taken, burnt, sunk, and destroyed the whole French Navy. . . .<sup>1</sup>

The charge against Keppel was

attacking the enemy *improperly* in the morning, having made the signal to chase and attack singly when the enemy were formed in a close line; and *neglecting* to attack in the evening when the enemy offered battle, whereby they were suffered to escape in the night.

He made his defence and was acquitted in February, 1779: but his words in explanation sent a roar of laughter through the country:

On the Memorable XXVIIth. July MDCCLXXXVIII  
This day the *English* and the *French* fleets met;  
And fought: but—parted ere the sun was set.  
Yet, KEPPEL had his reason for it, —He  
Thought they would fight *next day* more handsomely.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> "Tears of Britannia," 1779, *Advertisement and Postscript*.

<sup>2</sup> "Tales, Apologues etc.," 1778, by William Wallbeck: No. 29. Listed as "On the memorable 27th July, 1778." A note is added: "This

BECKENHAM PLACE was the out-of-town residence of JOHN CATOR, who had retired after making a pile of money in business : he was, says Miss Burney, "a goodnatured, busy sort of man," and his wife, "a sort of nobody." His personal culture was not exceptional, nor his intellect of the keenest. His part in the second dialogue as a peace-maker in his own house is not in any way comparable to the more accidental but beneficial rôle he played in the noisy Lyttleton business in June, 1781 : the report of Miss Burney tallies with the speeches put into Cator's mouth by Mrs. Thrale, and as what Mr. Cator said might well have been said by Mr. Norman, although possibly with a tiny degree less of good nature, the description is of utmost value.

. . . one happy circumstance, however, attended the quarrel, which was the presence of Mr. Cator, who would by no means be prevented, either by reverence for Dr. Johnson, or ignorance of the subject in question ; on the contrary, he gave his opinion, quite uncalled, upon everything that was said by either party, and that with an importance and pomposity, yet with an emptiness and verbosity, that rendered the whole dispute, when in his hands, nothing more than ridiculous, and compelled even the disputants themselves, all inflamed as they were, to laugh. To give a specimen—one speech will do for a thousand.

"As to this here question of Lord Lyttleton, I can't speak to it to the purpose, as I have not read his "Life," for I have only read the "Life of Pope"; I have got the books though, for I sent for them last week, and they came to me on Wednesday, and then I began them ; but I have not yet read "Lord Lyttleton." "Pope" I have begun, and that is what I am now reading. But what I have to say about Lord Lyttleton is this here : Mr. Seward says that Lord Lyttleton's steward dunned Mr. Shenstone for his rent. Well, if he was a tenant of Lord Lyttleton's, why should he not pay his rent. . . ."

was the reason the *Admiral* gave. See his DESPATCHES, and TRIAL." Wallbeck was associated with the Johnson circle.

An interesting pamphlet entitled *Sketches from Nature* (1779) pretends to criticise pictures from the brushes of men in public affairs, and includes two by Admiral Keppel : *Achilles in Dudgeon*, and *The Contention of Ajax and Ulysses*. The first is as follows : "Achilles has a sublimity in his anger, which serves as an excuse for disfiguring so noble a set of features. We cannot think the artist happy in his choice of a subject, though he is perfectly a master in the execution of it. The serious resentment visible in the warrior's countenance commands our attention, and when that is once given, the applause so critical a piece of painting merits can by no means be withheld. The scene is ingeniously calculated to suit the passions of the character, and presents us with a kind of silent surly gloom on every side . . . On the whole the piece is very capital, though rather unpleasing in its historical matter." Comment is needless.



Mr. Cator had the book in his hand and was reading the "Life of Lyttleton," that he might the better, he said, understand the cause, though not a creature cared if he had never heard of it.

Mr. Cator's friend, who takes on so at Baretti's aspersions of his boy George, is hardly distinguishable from Cator himself except for his quotation from Seneca, which one must suspect to be beyond the equipment of his host, whose quotation from Bacon might possibly be picked up from some dim recollection of Johnson's<sup>1</sup> writings. Mr. NORMAN, according to Fanny Burney, had also retired on his money, and it appears that George Norman, his son, and Thomas Norman, were his children by a previous wife. Of Boy George, there is only available Baretti's hypothesis :

he may have as many Languages as he has Noses, and he may be as wise as he is rich—he communicates not too much I believe his Money or his Knowledge,

which appears to be founded largely on a criticism of Mr. Norman himself.

Mrs. Thrale's portrait of BARETTI reflects more the man's well-known intellectual impatience and biting talk than any of that malice and malignance which were commonly brought against him. He had left the house of the Thrales, where he had been a sort of tutor to the children as well as friend of the family, after violent quarrels in 1776, which, according to Mrs. Piozzi's later accounts, arose from his presumption and insolence in attacking her authority in her house. It ought, however, to be noted, that there exist in Rylands Library, letters written in 1776 by Baretti to Mrs. Thrale which show a continuous solicitude to ease her anxieties concerning her children. He loved Queeney best of all the Thrales, although after 1776 he kept away from Streatham. He continued to do work of high quality in scholarship, and apparently did not find every door of the Johnson Circle closed to him. His was a character in perpetual torment, shifting and changing from day to day. Amongst a series of quotations which Mrs. Thrale wrote down as applicable from one friend of hers to another, there is this one for Cator to say of Baretti :

<sup>1</sup> Johnson adds: "the student must learn by commerce with mankind to reduce his speculation to practice." Cator's mind wanders too swiftly from the point to enable him to make his meaning clear, and Baretti puts it in the correct context for him.

Return he cannot nor  
Continue where he is ; to shift his Being  
Is to exchange one Misery for Another  
And every day that comes, comes to destroy  
A Day's work in him.

But elsewhere Mrs. Thrale called Baretti a viper, an evil-speaker in private of his friends, and in public of the country that gave him shelter ;<sup>1</sup> and, indeed, she suffered much at his hands. Baretti's part in the history of Mrs. Piozzi's reputation is well-enough known and does not enter into this aspect of him ; however, I scarcely believe that the feeble play, called the *Sentimental Mother*, can possibly be from the hand of a man who had such a quick and biting wit, and who had such intimate knowledge of the Thrale household, unless one were to think that sheer nastiness and obscene fury turned a clever man into a cur. Mrs. Thrale presents a confirmation of the Italian exile's remarkable power over the English idiom : he speaks with more clarity, force and wit, and with more aptness than his hosts. His supercilious rearrangement of his friend's reference to Bacon is what we might well expect from our knowledge of him.

MR. SEWARD, at whose lodgings the third Dialogue opens, was publicly known as a hypochondriac. To Miss Burney he first appeared as a very polite, agreeable young man, though later she found he was reserved and cold, except to a few friends to whom he showed great good-nature and good-will. He was ready to disparage most people, possibly in an attempt to tease and be witty. In the Dialogue he appears almost as a low comic figure, a conscious and considerate buffoon, who passes airily from defeat to defeat but tries to "keep it up" nevertheless. He died in 1799 of dropsy at his lodgings in Dean Street, Soho.

Seward's first visitor, SIR RICHARD JEBB, was the family friend and physician of the Thrales. Queeney is made to say of him<sup>1</sup>

Camillo !  
Preserver of my Father and myself  
The Medicine of our House.

<sup>1</sup> These quotations written down by Mrs. Thrale (after the style of "Modern Characters from Shakespeare," cited above) are in the *Miscellaneous MSS.* in Rylands Library. The last reference to Baretti's ingratitude cited here is in *Una and Duessa* (Rylands MS.) p. 111.

Sir Richard was called in on every occasion of illness amongst the Thrales, and is here presented as a physician with little faith in medicine : nevertheless with a tendency to ruminate (once the topic is artfully suggested by Seward) on the "surprising things that do occur in the history of human nature." The second visitor who arrives with the invitation from Lady Lade is described by Miss Burney as "not at all a man of letters, but extremely well-bred, nay elegant, in his manners, and sensible and agreeable in his conversation."

SIR PHILIP JENNINGS-CLERKE, then, was a universal favourite. Seward greets Sir Philip as a lover of a horse, and indeed his love for the animal was generally recognised by his friends. Mrs. Thrale, whose warm friend he was, sent him a horse as a present, which he acknowledges in a letter to her of 10 April, 1781.<sup>1</sup> Sir Philip's gallantry and assiduousness towards the ladies is corroborated in yet another quotation which Mrs. Thrale assigned as from Hester to Sir Philip :

Out Hyperbolical Fiend ! how vexest thou this man ;  
Talkst thou of nought but Ladies !

But not only did he make such pleasant discourse, but he rang for the chestnuts at Lady Lade's party, and skilfully put an end to an increasingly rancorous conversation which even the irrelevances of Seward could hardly check. His assumption of dolefulness on remembering the song that Cordwell sang the winter before was something in which he took some pride and by which he got dignity, but all without offence : his seems to have been at times the melancholy mood :

. . . . still to be sad good Sir,  
For to speak truth it very well becomes you ;  
Sorrow so royally in you appears  
That I will put the Fashion deeply on  
And wear it in my Heart.

Mrs. Thrale gives this quotation as from herself of Sir Philip.

LADY LADE herself, in whose home the second part of the third Dialogue takes place, was sister to MR. THRALE.<sup>2</sup> Miss Burney said

<sup>1</sup> *Misc. Letters* : from Jennings Clerke, 10 April, 1781 (Rylands MSS.).

<sup>2</sup> Sir John Lade (originally John Inskip) was made a baronet 17 March, 1758. He had married, 1755, Anne, sister of Henry Thrale. Died, 1759, in consequence of a fall from his horse. His posthumous son succeeded him—a spendthrift and friend of George IV. On his death, 10 Feb., 1838, the

of her; that tall, ugly, stout and elderly as she was, she dressed showily and after the fashion of more youth than she possessed. She is said not to have been cultivated, presumably after the manner of the Blue-stockings, but that she was "adept in the manners of the world." Her flow of talk is mainly an attack on the several intellectual ladies who visited Streatham and associated with Miss Thrale. QUEENEY (Hester Maria) THRALE was about fourteen years old at the time of the Dialogues, and is described as "stiff and proud, or else shy and reserved." She was Baretti's favourite, and he admired her reticence and aloofness as a fine characteristic :

"Susan mimicks Queeney in her bashfulness. . . . And how are you yourselves? Pretty well, answers Queeney in a very low voice."<sup>1</sup>

She was difficult to handle, and in the "Dialogues" her depression irritates old Lady Lade, but gives some comfort to her father. Sir Philip alone is able to entice her into a reply. Of MR. THRALE himself it need only be said, that the period of the Dialogue was a time between two break-downs in his health. In July he had just recovered from<sup>2</sup> an illness and he was down again in September. Much respected both by his wife and Dr. Johnson, his brewery and membership in Parliament caused his name to go down to posterity, in the phrase of Peter Pindar, the genius of comic verse,

"Bright in the annals of Election Ale."

The BURNEYS who are mentioned, Fanny Burney and her father, the Doctor, were both much loved by Mrs. Thrale. Fanny Burney reported a description of herself to Johnson from Mrs. Thrale :

baronetcy expired. The spendthrift son figures largely in the satirical effusions of the day, and his wife no less : see Pigott, *op. cit.* (4th ed., 1794, p. 43) and "Whig Club" (1794, p. 92). See also *Poems* by Anthony Pasquin (John Williams), 1768 (containing many contemporary hits in epigram) (p. 115), *An Epigrammatic Colloquy occasioned by Sir John Lade's ingenious method of managing his estates :*

"Said Hope to Wit, with eager looks,  
And sorrow streaming eyes;  
In pity, Jester, tell me when  
Will Johnny Lade be—wise?  
Thy sighs forego, said Wit to Hope,  
And be no longer sad;  
Tho' other foplings grow to men,  
He'll always be a—Lad."

<sup>1</sup> *Letters from Baretti*, 12 May, 1776 (Rylands MSS.).

<sup>2</sup> *Letters to Mrs. Lambert and Mrs. Byron* (Rylands MSS.).

Miss Burney looks so meek and so quiet, nobody would suspect what a comical girl she is; but I believe she has a great deal of malice at heart.

The FANNY BROWN who is also mentioned was a frequent visitor to Streatham and is immortalised as one who had a slovenly way of dressing and whom Dr. Johnson delighted to make ridiculous. Mrs. Thrale is reported to have said in her defence, that she was not very deep, indeed, but she was a sweet, and a very ingenuous girl: which assuredly she must have been. Fanny Brown more than anyone admired SOPHY STREATFIELD, who was one of the more remarkable specimens of the Thrale Bluestockings: she knew Greek and had a nose correspondingly symmetrical. Her easy shedding of tears, and the beautiful picture she represented when crying, was rather too common a joke amongst her friends, who publicly exploited and abused her. Her beauty and her cleverness and learning rather annoyed her companions who could feel envious of such virtues, and, all in all, her kind nature is apt to be overlooked by her censors. In June, 1779, Miss Burney compared Miss Brown and Miss Streatfield, as follows:

Miss Streatfield . . . is indeed, much more really beautiful than Fanny Brown; but Fanny Brown is much more showy, and her open, good-humoured, gay, laughing face inspires an almost immediate wish of conversing and making merry with her.

To Lady Lade all these young women were only differentiated in degree: she would have sympathised with Citizen Pigott's description of the "Blue Stocking Jockeys," who preferred wit to beauty. Whether Mrs. Thrale was known to be swayed by one or the other characteristic at different times in her choice of confidants for herself and her daughter it is difficult to say, but her friend, Mrs. Lambert, took the liberty of reminding her in a letter of 15 Jan., 1781 (?) that,

Beauty is but the powder in the Hair, & Wit only the Feather in the Cap of Virtue; *they* attract the notice, but 'tis the *Helmet* that resists the blow:

the "Helmet" in this significant lesson being Religion and Morality.

Of CORDWELL and MISS DODSON very little can be easily ascertained, but Sir SAMPSON GIDEON was well known in his day. If ever the approbation of one man tended to damn another, it would be the case if Sir Sampson praised him. Peter Pindar in *Ode upon*



*Ode*, brings him swiftly to the mind's eye, with his family and his history. He was son of a Jewish financier of great influence, and a member of Parliament :

All the Angel Gideons,  
That is, my lady, and her daughter fair,  
With coal-black eyebrows, and sweet Hebrew air—  
The lovely produce of the two religions . . .  
Begot between a game hen and an owl.

We must presume that Sir Sampson was the owl. His judgment in any matter of taste is possibly strictly indicated in the same poem :

Sir Sampson too declar'd, with voice divine,  
Dat shince he haf turn Chreestian, and eat hog,  
He nebber did hear mooshic half sho fine ;  
No ; nebber shince he less de shinnygogue.

The cruelty of the attack need not obscure its deftness nor its accuracy. Nevertheless Sir Sampson was a benefactor to the poor villagers of Beddingham, which unfortunately brought forth in his honour an enthusiastic piece of work<sup>1</sup> which described the arrival of the long expected alms to the frostbound and stricken inhabitants : the author, for his part, would as soon associate the name of Gideon with a satire as expect to see a diamond dim in nature : for,

. . . in this huge and complicate distress,  
This dearth, this sov'reign winter-wretchedness ;  
Was there no mercy heav'n directed sent ;  
No man ordain'd to be its instrument ?  
Yes, yes, there was—Oh ! say whose active care  
First rear'd those famished children from despair !  
Twas GIDEON !  
Blest be his fame,  
He ne'er forgets the poor . . .  
He seal'd and sent salvation's edicts down  
To thee, sad BEDDINGHAM, from ARLINGTON.

In this way Nature, in its course, brings good but dull men their reward.

The text of the "Dialogues" has been brought into line with the printing practice of Mrs. Thrale's own day, and this has involved insignificant rearrangement, such as the setting of the names of speakers in capital letters over the paragraph of their speech. I have also taken

<sup>1</sup> Sir Sampson Gideon mentioned here is the Baronet (1745-1824) ; see *D.N.B.* The quoted panegyric, *A Poem to Sir Sampson Gideon, Baronet*, London, 1786.

Mrs. Thrale's marginal "directions" and set them into the text in italics, reserving, in addition, the right to italicise the words *Scene*, *Speakers*, etc., in the rubrics introducing each new scene. Mrs. Thrale's own italics have been preserved along with her spelling and "punctuation." The Appendix contains for comparison Mrs. Montagu's Dialogue between *Mercury* and *Mrs. Modish*, transcribed from the edition of 1760 (the third). How much more "classical" is the design, and how beautifully written is the prose of Mrs. Montagu's work, in contrast to that of Mrs. Thrale, will be readily apparent.

I acknowledge my debts to Dr. Guppy with great pleasure (an incalculable one in kindness and courtesy) for permitting me to handle these Dialogues: and also to Dr. Tyson. It was thought advisable to limit the scope of this article as much as possible in view of such publications as are shortly to appear.

THREE DIALOGUES ON THE DEATH OF HESTER  
LYNCH THRALE.

Written in August, 1779.

PREFACE.

One of Dean Swift's happiest Compositions is certainly the little poem on his own Death. My Death would be a slight Event indeed compared with his—it would I think just bear three Dialogues among the people I chiefly lived with, & some of them are insignificant enough too. The first Dialogue will be the favourite with everybody else—but the last was best liked by the Author.

[THE FIRST DIALOGUE.]

*A Month after my Death.*

*Scene :* Mrs. Vesey's Assembly—Sunday Night.

*Speakers :* Johnson, Burke, Pepys & Mrs. Montagu.

PEPYS.

(*To Mrs. Vesey*) The Society at this House is always charming dear Madam, but you do in a very singular Manner possess the power of attracting every thing superiorly agreeable. Such a Circle !

MRS. MONTAGU.

Ay, is not it ? and Mrs. Vesey to do her Justice never describes her magical Circle such as fits herself alone to walk in ; her's is the old Ptolemaick System, every thing in it moving under her Influence and She herself remains the Primum Mobile.

PEPYS.

(*To Burke*) Admirable ! did you hear what Mrs. Montagu said ?

BURKE.

Yes—I always hear Mrs. Montagu with equal Pleasure and Advantage. (*Turning to her*) There is no System in which She is not made to shine, for though certainly solid, she is never Opaque.

MRS. MONTAGU.

(*Bowing to Burke*) Sir, I am pleased with your Compliment, for I am always pleased with Compliments paid to my sex for its Understanding. (*To Pepys*) & now Mr. Pepys, if we Witches had but the Power of conjuring up into this Circle again our lost Friend Mrs. Thrale, I do verily believe that you would think Enchantment so used, might be legally defended even in the Courts of Judicature, where I believe there has not been a Cause of Witchcraft now subsisting these many many years.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Capital punishment for Witchcraft abolished Act 9 Geo. II. cap. 5.

PEPYS.

Why Mrs. Thrale was really a Loss to Society, and it is so difficult to get Companions now a days—Company was never so easily to be met with, but Company and Companions I hold to be separate Idears. (*He now crosses the Room to Johnson & says*) We have a sad Loss here of an amiable Friend, Dr. Johnson—Mrs. Thrale Sir—

JOHNSON.

Yes Sir.

PEPYS.

Here is always at this house a mighty happy Selection—too many tho' I think Sir for the purposes of Conversation ; any five of them would do better, a mere Galaxy of Wits this, too many good Dishes like poor Mrs. Thrale's Dinners—Dr. Johnson !

JOHNSON.

I do not like to talk of Mrs. Thrale Sir.

PEPYS.

Sir, I suppose nobody presumes to question the Propriety of any Expression that falls from Dr. Johnson, but give me leave to recover my Surprize at least—I had no Idear of your objecting to me for expressing my Concern for the death of that Lady, and *you* were (*peevishly*) suppos'd to have had *some* Loss of her yourself too——

JOHNSON.

(*Earnestly*) If *you* suppose it Mr. Pepys, you do not surely observe the Rules of good Breeding in placing that Loss before my Eyes so wantonly.——No Man, should fail to respect the Sorrows of another, as no Man is likely to glide through Life without feeling any ; and no Man, I must tell you, Sir—

PEPYS.

God bless me I . . .

JOHNSON.

(*Very loud*) Nay but give me leave—I did not interrupt you.—No Man I say has a Right to obtrude unpleasing Images on my Mind, nor force me for his Pleasure upon making ungrateful Comparisons between my past & present State of Existence. Would you declaim



upon the happiness of sound Health to Beauclerc ? Would you talk to your Friend (*sneeringly*) Keppel of the twenty seventh of July ?

BURKE.

Mr. Keppel might be talked to concerning the Business of that Day Dr. Johnson, and often is, without any Diminution of that Self Complacency which in Good men ever attends the performance of their Duty, however unsuccessful the Event.

JOHNSON.

Burke you know better, but we have long ago agreed not to talk about publick Affairs——was I wrong though in what I said this moment to Pepys ?

BURKE.

Perfectly right unless from the Violence with which It was said. Unless a Man had Stores less inexhaustible of Entertainment than I fear our Friend the Master will be found to have, he should be cautious of introducing Subjects of so delicate a Nature. Tis acting at last but like Aaron the Moor,<sup>1</sup> who dug up People's dead Friends I think & set them at their Doors.

JOHNSON.

Why somehow or other I don't much love Pepys, & so I might be tempted to be rough with him——& yet it is unreasonable—you know it is—to be obliged to share Pain with a Creature, with whom one cannot share Pleasure.

<sup>1</sup> The reference to Aaron the Moor is slightly untoward. I owe the following reference to Dr. Tyson. *Thrale-Byron Letters*, No. 3, 2 June, 1788 (Rylands MSS).

“that unextinguishable viper Barette . . . who like Aaron the Moor in Shakespeare's *Titus Andronicus*, digs up people's dead Friends, & sets them at their doors . . . even when their Sorrows are almost forgot.”

With reference to Barette, the allusion has some point, which is absent in the simple maladroitness of poor Pepys.

MRS. MONTAGU.

(*To a Lady.*) What was Johnson so loud about at the other End of the Room?—I could not make it out.

PEPYS.

Why, the oddest Thing in the World—I meant to please him & mentioned Mrs. Thrale's name, but he flew out so fiercely—it put me in mind of a Thing—

MRS. MONTAGU.

Ay! flew out—did not he—we heard him quite across the Room; why he burst in your hand like an overcharged Musket, & you seem a little shattered by the Recoil too I protest,—but he has had a Loss you'll allow—Mrs. Thrale, among her other Qualifications, had prodigious strong Nerves—and that's an admirable Quality for a Friend of Dr. Johnson's.

PEPYS.

Oh Madam I have been stunned by him at Streatham many a Time, and Mrs. Thrale not content with his loud Voice would make me exert my own Lungs very often till I have been quite Ill after it—how She could bear such bawling, & not be totally divested of all Delicacy was a constant Source of Wonder to me—I used to tell her that She put me in Mind . . .

MRS. MONTAGU.

Bless me! yes, She had remarkable good Nerves, & yet carried off so suddenly—pounced by Death like a Partridge upon the *Wing*—caught in one of her *Flights* Mr. Pepys.

PEPYS.

Charming! Charming! Bravo! Bravo!

[*And now he runs about telling everybody what Mrs. Montagu said last—while Johnson, enquiring what the happy Sallie was & hearing it repeated—leaves the Room, & the Conversation is changed to a worthier Subject.*]

[*End of the First Dialogue.*]

## THE SECOND DIALOGUE.

*Scene* : Beckenham Place after Suppers.

*Company* : Mr. Cator, Mrs. Cator, Mr. Norman and Mr. Baretti.

BARETTI.

You have heard the News confirmed of the Death of Mrs. Thrale.

CATOR.

Yes, it was a very unexpected Event & proceeded as I have been *tould* entirely for want of Care.

NORMAN.

Why tis a common Saying—& common Sayings is sometimes worthy observation—that the sensiblest persons does the foolishhest Things, for that good Lady did not want for Wit hah Mr. Cator.—

CATOR.

No to be sure, on the contrary was always reckoned I believe above par: and had as I have been tould read a monstrous Sight of Books—but Books will not do Sir, not do every thing I mean to say—Books my Lord Bacon says—I think it is my Lord Bacon as says—Books will never teach the use of Books. A great man (that Mr Baretti—our Countryman Bacon & made very pertinent Observations for the time he lived in, very fine Things I have heard of his'n.

BARETTI.

It is very finely said of my Lord Bacon that Books will not teach the use of Books ; Mrs Thrale however knew the World well enough too ; She had not always a rich Husband, She had wheeled about and about a good deal.

CATOR.

Why with Regard to that there I can't speak to it, not to that there point I mean ; but I am of opinion that She did not—that She had not what I call Knowledge of the world. because Mr Baretti She must have perceived how Things went on of late,<sup>1</sup> and She never seemed to

<sup>1</sup> Mrs. Thrale certainly had a turn for expense but she also had a remarkable turn for economy when it was needed. On at least two occasions in her life she cleared off very heavy debts, the reference here possibly being to the business trouble in which Thrale found himself some time previously, the debts of which at the time of the "Dialogues" were still being cleared.

wish to draw the Line by what I could judge She had always a Turn to Expence ; now I'm one of those as thinks there's no Pleasure in spending of money when one don't know how long one may have it to Spend—for when I know what my Income is——

NORMAN.

Ay, when I know what my Income is, then I can judge to a Guinea what I'll allot to spend ; but when my whole Fortune—The Tot: of it—is in trade, then no Man I'll be *bould* to say I'll defy any Man in England that's to say no Man can tell how, not but what he may come short I mean—that is in plain Terms to fall through, in such Times as these no Man is safe, no Man's Fortune I mean for as Senecar has it

*Magna Servitus est Magna Fortuna.*<sup>1</sup>

& when I consider for Example *my* Fortune . . .

BARETTI.

Why, do you think her Husband suffered her then to distribute as She pleased—his Riches.

CATOR.

I don't at all make a doubt Mr Baretti but She had a proper Influence.

BARETTI.

If She had any Influence at all I think it was an *improper* one, & that in a high degree too, nothing is in my Mind more despicable than a Man swayed by his Wife.

NORMAN.

Yes Yes Mr Baretti any Man who spends more than what's warrantable is a Man more despicable by half, & though I have had two Wives God be praised & good Portions with each & pretty Rogues too I may say ay & loved them dearly—& I hope this sweet Girl of mine will be as happy as I can make her—that is to be sure I am a matter of Sixty going on, but what of that ? I will make her as as happy as I can. ha ! ha ! ha !

<sup>1</sup> Norman must have credit for accuracy and aptness of quotation from Seneca, *De Consolat. ad Polyb.*, 26.

CATOR.

You will be a Wag Mr. Norman.

NORMAN.

Well Joking apart, then to the matter of my Wife ; though She don't know nothing at all concerning of my Affairs, that's only because *how* that's because *how*, I can manage them for myself ; but if my Boy George for Example, if my Boy George should marry a Lady of exalted Understanding or just Exempli Gratia such a Lady as Mrs. Thrale . . .

BARETTI.

Sir ; George your Boy may for ought I know to the contrary be a Beast, greater than any Beast that I have seen! ; but if he is not the most ignorant the most impenetrable Blockhead that ever the Almighty has given Permission to infect the Earth with his Folly—he will not be governed by his Wife.

CATOR.

Why you are very severe upon the Ladies Mr Baretti ; do you say these things in Italy ?

BARETTI.

The Ladies in Italy & elsewhere, have the exclusive Privileges of dressing their heads, and creeping into our hearts, & playing pug's Tricks, & are — — (*He looks & sees Mrs Cator fast asleep*) while young at least the most pleasing Beings in the Universe :

Dans le Monde on fait tous pour ces Animaux là.

I am the last Man in the World to say in their dispraise any thing, & there is many a pretty Lady to whom I would give in Italy and England a very hearty Kiss, tho' I am now fifty Years old myself & as many more as I have Toes. . . .

NORMAN.

But what I would beg. to know have you ever seen so wanting in my George I am wondering ; the Boy don't seem so deficient tho' perhaps he don't put himself out afore you, as what you need take him for any worse than his Neighbours : foolisher fellows than George Norman gets to have wise wives if they can settle handsomely hah ! Mr Cator, Women is a Drug now—a mere Drug.



BARETTI.

Sir, Your Boy George is one of the persons whom I hardly ever saw ; & as for his Conversation I know it not ; he may have as many Languages as he has Noses, and he may be as wise as he is rich — — he communicates not too much I believe his Money or his Knowledge.

CATOR.

Come, Come, lets drink a Glass of Wine to drown Animosities ; Come, here's a Good Wife to Mr Thrale & a good Husband to his eldest Daughter—Why General ! (*to his wife*) what fast asleep ! why you won't let this Toast go by I'm sure.

BARETTI.

(*To Mrs Cator.*)

Madam, here is health and a good Husband to my Hetty Thrale ; as for her Father—he has had—I believe Wife enough.

[*End of the Second Dialogue.*]

THE THIRD DIALOGUE.

*Scene : Seward's Lodging.*  
Seward alone.

SEWARD.

What have the Ministry provided us no new publick Calamities for to Day's Entertainment, that these cursed printers keep up the *bore* with repetition of private Concerns.—(*Reads*) Last Week died at Streatham the Wife of Henry Thrale Esqr.—who if he had any Feeling now, would himself be affected by the incessant recurrence of the paragraph, but the Comfort is—no Man has any Feeling, sad Dogs to be sure, sad Dogs Mankind are ; I am not as much hurt at it myself as I thought I should have been, but then I had taken an Emetick the Night before I heard the News—and a Man is so different after the Bile is gone off his Stomach. (*Rings the Bell*) Richard ! Give me the Draught marked *Med. Die.*

RICHARD.

Yes Sir.

SEWARD.

See who knocks at the Door ; one swallows this Stuff the quicker for hearing somebody knock now. Mere Machinery Mankind is, certainly——Mere Machinery—(*Hides the Bottle*).

(*Enter Sir R.<sup>d</sup> Jebb.*)

SIR R. JEBB.

How do you Seward ? What, not quacking I hope : the less Medicine, & the more Excercise the better I believe in your Case and Mine.

SEWARD.

No ! I never take anything now : *Cave Medicis et Medicinis* : that shall be my Motto in future ; Ay !

SIR R. JEBB.

Ay : I wish poor Mrs. Thrale had followed that Axiom too, but I have heard She was always playing some Tricks or other with a Health very valuable to her Friends.<sup>1</sup>

SEWARD.

(*Impatiently*) Was She ? Was She ? What did She take ? come tell, do ; what hurt her ? what killed her ? hah ! how was it ? tell.

SIR R. JEBB.

Lord I don't know how to answer when one's interrogated so not I ; I never supposed that She poisoned herself.

SEWARD.

But what do you suppose ? did She practise any clandestine cruelties upon her person ? any secret Mortifications I mean : did you ever ask her Maids if She wore anything ?

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Swift (*Poem on His Death*):

The Doctors tender of their fame,  
Wisely on me lay all the blame.

“ We must confess his case was nice :  
But he would never take advice.”

SIR R. JEBB.

Wore anything ! What d'ye mean ?

SEWARD.

Aye any Hair Cloth or—or . . .

SIR R. JEBB.

God—you amaze me ; such Notions never entered my Head.

SEWARD.

Why I can't tell whether you knew it Sir Rich:<sup>d</sup>, but She was a very pious Woman ; and your pious people do strange Things. No true Devotion without great Oddity, no true Wit without much Madness : Jean Jacques Rousseau who had a great deal of both was of that Opinion, & I've heard you say something like it yourself.

SIR R. JEBB.

Why very surprising Things do occur in the history of human Nature (*Somebody knocks*) but—It is your Levee Day Mr Seward :

SEWARD.

It is a Day of no great *Levity* neither, for we're on a *grave* Subject God knows, drawing our Subjects out of the *Grave* indeed.— — (*Enter Sir Philip J. Clerke*) Oh, how do you do Sir Philip ?

SIR PHILIP.

Sir a good morrow to you, though I did myself the honour to knock at your door, I rather wished (for the sake of your own health) to have heard you *was rode* out.

SEWARD.

Why we'll allow *you* Sir Philip to be a *Lover* of a *Horse* but in my Mind—

The proper Study of Mankind is Man !

SIR PHILIP.

Well Sir ! if Woman come within the Sphere of your Studies, you'll dine perhaps at Lady Lade's today ; She commanded me to ask you — —and the Commands of a Lady—Sir

SIR R. JEBB.

Ay Faith ! I wish some pretty Lady's Commands had due Weight with our Friend Seward Sir ; a Wife is the Thing he wants ; one pretty Girl at last is worth all our Faculty.

SIR PHILIP.

Worth every thing in this World Sir ; no Pleasure without the Women I think !

SIR R. JEBB.

Of that I seem not quite so confident, all Intellectual Pleasures go on most easily I believe without the Sexual Intercourse ; but then a Man can't read always—&

SEWARD.

And so you think a little bickering makes Variety ;—why Women are like Bitters to be sure, they do give a Stimulus, but then Marriage is Chamomile Tea, a mere Emetick Sir Richard.

SIR R. JEBB.

Well I wont hear my Prescriptions ridiculed if I can't get them follow'd ; and since I am always recommending Marriage, we will have nothing clever said in Abuse of a good Wife ; so good morrow Seward—God ! (*Looking at his Watch*) what a Trifler I am !—Sir Philip your most Obedient.

Scene changes to Lady Lade's, after Dinner.

*Company* : Mr Thrale, Miss Thrale, Mr Seward, Lady Lade, Miss Dodson & Sir Philip Jennings Clerke.

LADY LADE.

(*To Miss Thrale*) Come Queeney, have a Glass of Raisin Wine My Dear do ; & don't look so pecking ;<sup>1</sup> I've a good mind to give this Girl a Spider, as they do sick Turkey Poults.

<sup>1</sup> "Pecking," low, and fault-finding. It is an interesting enquiry whether sick turkey poults were given spiders, but progress in it is difficult. Dr. Tyson draws my attention to an article in the *Gentleman's Magazine*, 1867, Pt. I., p. 731, on "Suffolk Superstitions." "To swallow a spider, or its web, when placed on a small piece of apple, is an acknowledged cure for ague. . . . It is employed not only by the poor, but by the better informed. . . ." The failure of the cure excited astonishment. In another reference ("Old Friends and New Acquaintances," p. 152) the cure for ague was "black-bottle spiders made into pills with fresh butter." I also owe the revelation of this delicate combination to Dr. Tyson. Neither recipe (both seem to be a sort of *magic*) is reported as successful.

MR. THRALE.

*Pray* give her nothing, *do* let her alone !

LADY LADE.

Lord Mr Thrale you're so low & so sulky, you & your beautiful Daughter only make one another worse ; I shall be glad when Cordwell comes to *keep it up* a little & sing us a Song.

SEWARD.

Who's to come ? Cordwell ! Who is Cordwell ? a Character

MISS DODSON.

Yes a very good Character I believe he has ; (*to Sir Philip*) He sung a Hunting Song last Winter Sir, if you remember—that you commended vastly

SIR PHILIP.

Ma'am I beg pardon, I *do* remember the Gentleman : & not without more Pain than I care to express in this Company. (*Sighs*).<sup>1</sup>

MR. THRALE.

Nanny, if *you* like such Blacks about you I do not ; & in short if you can find no Company more agreeable to me than such singing Scoundrels I'll find some other place to go to.

MISS DODSON.

Law ! Mr. Thrale I think you're very Censorious ; Mr. Cordwell mayn't have a great Fortune perhaps, but I believe he's quite an *independent* Man, & I never heard he had any but a good Character in my Life ; I know he is very well respected by people of *undoubted* Fortune ; Sir Sampson Gideon likes him vastly well as I have heard.

LADY LADE.

Dear Miss Dodshon will you speak to Robert for the Chestnuts.

SIR PHILIP.

Ma'am I can't bear to see you take so much Trouble—Women should surely sit still ; if you permit us the pleasure of waiting on you 'tis enough & ought to make us happy.

<sup>1</sup> The reference may simply be to the doleful sentimentality of the ballad Cordwell sang, or to some more touching and undiscoverable affair.



MISS DODSON.

Sir you're always<sup>1</sup> exceedingly polite

SIR PHILIP.

Will your Ladyship's Bell ring for them to hear it below ?

LADY LADE.

I believe so, though all the Things *grows* old too, but so does some of the Guests, & I am sure the Mistress of the House ; Heigh ho ! Mr. Seward ! I believe you find this a sad *Bore*.

SEWARD.

No, no, it is but a *pig* of Lead as yet, it may grow to a *Boar* by nursing tho' ; (*Looking round for applause He sees nobody understands him & goes on.*) Well Madam, when did your Ladyship see Mr. Adair ?

LADY LADE.

He was here this Morning to bleed my Brother.

SEWARD.

Ay, ay, the Scotch bleed us all round I think, don't they Sir Philip ? hah ! and, (*to Mr. Thrale*) Sir, did you bleed *freely* under Scotch Influence Mr. Thrale ?

MR. THRALE.

I do as well as I can Sir.

SEWARD.

When did you see the little Doctor ? Burney I mean.

MR. THRALE.

I don't want to see any of the Burneys.

LADY LADE.

Well ! but I've left off wondering at any thing : I always thought Miss Burney a monstrous favourite at Streatham : to be sure Miss Streatfield's a great deal handsomer, & has a better Nose : but Lord, what's (*with a sneer*) Features where *Wit* is so much concerned ?

as for Fanny Brown I own I always did think her a mighty course young Woman, (*sneeringly*) for *Miss Thrale* to keep Company with, & as to her Singing I assure you Cordwell's Ballads are ten times more pleasing in my vulgar Notion than all that fine Italian Stuff that one can't understand.

SEWARD.

Oh I saw Browney yester Morn<sup>g</sup>. & She blubbered like the bawd in Hogarth's Harlot's Burial ; I hear Sophy Streatfield never looked so lovely as in Tears for her Friend—quite a Guido Rheni.

MR. THRALE.

I wish we might hear no more of them !

SIR PHILIP.

Your Ladyship has lately play'd at Whist a little—shall I be too officious to propose a Game now ? Miss Thrale Ma'am you are my old Partner & must not be afraid of me ;—We'll win all their Money.

MISS THRALE.

If you'll accept of me Sir . . .

LADY LADE.

Yes, come. Cards & Candles in tother Room.

[*They all break up.*]

[*End of the Dialogues.*]

APPENDIX.

THE TWENTY-SEVENTH DIALOGUE.

BY MRS. MONTAGU.

("Queen of the Blues.")

Dialogue XXVII from Lyttleton's "Dialogues of the Dead."

Third Edition : 1760.

Mercury——And a Modern Fine Lady.

MRS. MODISH.

Indeed, Mr. Mercury, I cannot have the pleasure of waiting upon you now. I am engaged, absolutely engaged.

MERCURY.

I know you have an amiable affectionate husband, and several fine children ; but you need not be told, that neither conjugal Attachments, maternal affections, nor even the care of a Kingdom's welfare or a Nation's glory, can excuse a person who has received a summons to the realms of Death. If the grim messenger was not as peremptory as unwelcome, Charon would not get a passenger (except now and then an hypochondriacal Englishman) once in a century. You must be content to leave your husband and family, and pass the Styx.

MRS. MODISH.

I did not mean to insist on any engagement *with my husband and children* ; I never thought myself engaged to *them*. I had no engagements but such as were common to women of my Rank. Look on my Chimney-piece, and you will see I was engaged to the Play on Mondays, Balls on Tuesdays, the Opera on Saturdays, and to Card-assemblies the rest of the week, for two months to come ; and it would be *the rudest thing in the world* not to keep my appointments. If you will stay for me till the Summer-season, I will wait on you with all my heart. Perhaps the Elysian Fields may be less detestable than the *country* in our world. Pray have you a fine *Vauxhall* and *Ranelagh* ? I think I should not dislike drinking *the Lethe Waters* when you have a full Season.

## MERCURY.

Surely you could not like to drink the waters of Oblivion, who have made Pleasure the business, end, and aim of your Life ! It is good to drown cares, but who would wash away the remembrance of a Life of Gaiety and Pleasure.

## MRS. MODISH.

Diversion was indeed the business of my Life, but as to Pleasure I have enjoyed none since the novelty of my amusements were gone off. Can one be pleased with seeing the same thing over and over again ? Late hours and fatigue gave me the Vapours, spoiled the natural cheerfulness of my Temper, and even in youth wore away my youthful vivacity.

## MERCURY.

If this way of Life did not give you Pleasure, why did you continue in it ? I suppose you did not think it was very *meritorious* ?

## MRS. MODISH.

I was too much engaged to think at all : so far indeed my manner of Life was agreeable enough. My friends always told me diversions were necessary, and my Doctor assured me dissipation was good for my Spirits ; my husband insisted that it was not, and you know that one loves to oblige one's friends, comply with one's Doctor, and contradict one's husband ; and besides I was ambitious to be thought *du Bon ton*.

## MERCURY.

*Bon ton* ! what is that Madam ? Pray define it.

## MRS. MODISH.

Oh, Sir, excuse me, it is one of the privileges of the *Bon ton* never to define, or be defined. It is the child and the Parent of Jargon. It is —I can never tell you what it is : but I will try to tell you what it is not. In conversation it is not Wit ; in manners it is not Politeness ; in behaviour it is not Address ; but it is a little like them all. It can only belong to people of a certain rank, who live in a certain manner, with certain persons, who have not certain virtues, and who have certain Vices, and who inhabit a certain Part of the Town. Like a place by courtesy, it gets an higher rank than the person can claim,

but which those who have a legal title to precedence dare not dispute for fear of being thought not to understand the rules of Politeness. Now sir, I have told you as much as I know of it, though I have admired and aimed at it all my Life.

MERCURY.

Then Madam, you have wasted your time, faded your Beauty, and destroyed your health, for the laudable purposes of contradicting your husband, and being this something and this nothing called the *Bon ton*.

MRS. MODISH.

What would you have me do ?

MERCURY.

I will follow your mode of instructing. I will tell you what I would not have had you do. I would not have had you sacrifice your time, your reason, and your Duties to fashion and folly. I would not have had you neglect your husband's happiness, and your childrens Education.

MRS. MODISH.

As to my Daughters Education I spared no expence ; They had a dancing-master, music-master, and drawing-master ; and a French governess to teach them behaviour and the French Language.

MERCURY.

So their religion, sentiments and manners were to be learnt from a dancing-master, music-master, and a chamber-maid ! Perhaps they might prepare them to catch the *Bon ton*. Your daughters must have been so educated as to fit them to be wives without conjugal affection, and mothers without maternal care. I am sorry for the sort of life they are commencing, and for that which you have just concluded. Minos is a sour old Gentleman, without the least smattering of the *Bon ton*, and I am in a fright for you. The best thing I can advise you is to do in this world as you did in the other, keep happiness in your view, but never take the road that leads to it. Remain on this side Styx ; wander about without end or aim ; look into the Elysian Fields, but never attempt to enter into them, lest Minos should push you into Tartarus : for duties neglected may bring on a Sentence not much less severe than crimes committed.

FINIS.



## CHARLES AND FANNY BURNEY IN THE LIGHT OF THE NEW THRALE CORRESPONDENCE IN THE JOHN RYLANDS LIBRARY.

BY W. WRIGHT ROBERTS, B.A.,

ASSISTANT LIBRARIAN IN THE JOHN RYLANDS LIBRARY.

OF letters from members of the Burney family strictly so-called, twenty-four are to be found in this Library's great acquisition of manuscript material once owned by Mrs. Thrale's adopted son, Sir John Piozzi Salusbury. Thirteen letters come from Dr. Charles Burney, ten from his daughter Fanny, and one from his son, the younger Charles. Most of them are addressed to the famous literary hostess and friend of Dr. Johnson while she is still Mrs. Thrale. The dates of these range from 1777 to 1784, a period that saw the first two volumes of Dr. Burney's *General History of Music* and Fanny's *Evelina* and *Cecilia*. Only three of the twenty-four date from the other side of the line of cleavage in Mrs. Thrale's life marked by her second marriage, in 1784, with Gabriele Piozzi. Of correspondence from relatives of the Burneys the collection contains one large budget, 160 letters written to Mrs. Piozzi by Miss Marianne Francis, daughter of Fanny's sister Charlotte, and sister of the Mrs. Barrett who edited (1842-46) the *Diary and Letters of Madame D'Arblay*. Mrs. Barrett herself and her brother Clement Francis the younger add sundry items to this budget, which covers the period 1807-20.

Naturally enough, references to the Burneys lie scattered in other divisions of the huge collection. Those of importance will fall into their due places in a survey broadly chronological. By ill luck, the other side of the correspondence is entirely lacking; there is nothing from Mrs. Thrale to the Burneys, or to the Francis family. Yet, armed with a working knowledge of Fanny's *Diary* and of certain pages in Boswell, the student will see father and daughter vividly

enough in these new letters. They and the personages moving in their world—social, literary, artistic—stand out in a light which, even if largely of the kind expected, does not lack gleams of that illusory but saving inconsequence which makes truth stranger than fiction. Let us then recount the story of the Burneys in the light of this correspondence, and from the literary rather than the social point of view.

Charles Burney, though the notion would have surprised his age, lives rather as a figure in Johnson's circle than as an historian of music. Erudite for its day, clearly planned and smoothly written, his *History* laid foundations that succeeding writers were bound to respect. But time has exposed its inaccuracies, as did in some degree the contemporary *History* of Sir John Hawkins; and its perspective is patently that of the fashionable London music-master of the eighteenth century, obsessed with Handel and Italian opera. On our great Elizabethan composers, still more on Purcell and J. S. Bach, the work is woefully inadequate. The two earlier journals, recounting the author's travels in search of material for it, retain a good deal of historical interest. Yet for one modern reader who concerns himself with these books, there are many who naturally recall their writer as one of the brilliant company at the Club, or under Thrale's roof at Streatham. These remember Johnson's confession that the plan of his *Journey to the Western Islands of Scotland* was modelled on the plan of the travels of "that clever dog Burney"; they remember better still how Johnson said, "I love Burney; my heart goes out to meet him . . . Dr. Burney is a man for all the world to love." Their friendship had begun in 1755, the year of the *Dictionary*; it lasted unimpaired till Johnson's death. At Streatham, in conversation with some of the keenest minds of his age, the musician not only held his own by his wit, his wide knowledge, and his urbanity; he would often sit up, we are told, *tête-à-tête* with Johnson "as long as the fire and candles lasted, and much longer than the patience of the servants subsisted."

All but two of his letters in this collection belong to this best period of Burney's career. He writes to Mrs. Thrale with friendly familiarity, and a due spice of gallant compliment, on matters nearly always topical, personal to themselves and their circle. He seldom ventures a general reflection, and he is never voluminous. The

longest epistle (from his house in St. Martin St., 1 November, 1777)<sup>1</sup> barely covers four quarto pages ; in this one there is a sense of leisure, of conscious literary intent, not found elsewhere in the group. It betrays the bent of his literary culture. He elaborates that eternal theme of the correspondent, the apology for not having written sooner. And he traces his delinquency to certain beings sure to visit the mind of an eighteenth-century Englishman with a tinge of fancy and a modicum of reading—to the sylphs of Pope's *Rape of the Lock*:—

That we are *Journaliers* in the performance of mental as well as bodily Feats, every retailer of Saws will allow ; but that there are certain *Diavolini degl' Impedimenti*, or mischievous Sylphs & Gnomes that successfully forge Fetters for Resolution, even wise Folks will deny ; & yet, I seem surrounded with an Army of them, that prevent me from doing every thing I wish & intend.

“ This erring Mortals levity may call,  
O blind to Truth ! the Sylphs contrive it all.”

It is pleasantly done, despite its formal balance ; later he brings in, like a true child of his age and quite wittily, his bit of Voltaire. He is repining, as he will again, over the absence of the Thrales at Brighton :—

Mercy on us ! you have peradventure all been carried away in the high wind, & are now, like Micromégas, travelling from Planet to Planet, pour achever de se former *l'Esprit et le Cœur*.

Yet for all his culture, and with all his good will, Burney is no ideal letter-writer. The ease that was so great a charm of his conversation too frequently eluded him when he took up the pen. Sometimes, even on trivial levels, these letters pose and plume themselves in the endeavour to be pointed, witty, impressive. A short note to say he is nursing a cold, or another permitting Fanny a visit to Streatham, may involve itself in laboured witticism ; too readily he strides off on those Johnsonian stilts that were the bane of his style, and of his daughter's too, in her later days. But the kindliness of his spirit shines through his most tortured verbiage ; and whenever his writing sheds its self-consciousness it becomes lively and natural.

We shall pick out and group by their subjects the most notable passages in Burney's budget, quoting a letter in full only when it

<sup>1</sup> John Rylands Library, Eng. MS. 545. 1.

seems to demand such treatment. Johnson is naturally the subject which takes pride of place. Alas ! no new word of his is recorded ; but mere summary accounts of visits have their value when they concern such a man. In the letter from which we have already made extracts, Burney implies that he himself has been a guest of the Thrales at their Brighton house ; with a touch of the awkward grandiloquence, which may be called in the bad sense Johnsonian, he now inquires :—

whether our great & good Doctor has yet taken possession of the Comfortable bed w<sup>ch</sup> I had the honour of airing for him. I fear mine is a bad Soil, for neither at Streatham, nor Bright<sup>n</sup>, did I feel, as I ought, the Effects of those Emanations w<sup>ch</sup> must escape him where so ever he resides ; & which, like the beams of the Sun, sh<sup>d</sup> fertilize, invigourate, & meliorate every Spot on which they fall. But not a Chip, a Shaving, or Diamond-filing did I pick up in either of his Work-Shops !

During much of the time covered by these letters Johnson was an ailing man. A medical reason made him cancel one proposed visit to Burney, who promptly called on him and then wrote off thus to Mrs. Thrale in affectionate mock-reproach of their friend :—

And so I am just come from our dear Doctor—I visit him as oft as ever I can, but no *return*—a naughty Man ! After all his Swagging, & saying he sh<sup>d</sup> hang on the Burneys in your Absence—so far from a hanger on, he has never once filled my great Chair or darkened my door.

The letter<sup>1</sup> is undated. Humour fades out of a later one<sup>2</sup> at the thought of Johnson ; his bad health is now in the newspapers and his friends have little hope. Again there is no date ; but, since Burney conversed with the Doctor's blind *protégée*, Mrs. Williams, this letter was clearly written before her final breakdown and Johnson's paralytic seizure, both of which took place in the summer of 1783 :

Our dear Fr<sup>d</sup> at Bolt's Court was dosing in his Chair up stairs when I called last Night : so I did not see him—but I chatted  $\frac{1}{2}$  an hour with Mrs. Williams, forbidding every one to disturb him by any Information of my Visit. He had been at a full dose of Opium, again—w<sup>ch</sup>, says he, sufficed previously. But thank God not a word more of the Paragraph in the Morn<sup>g</sup> Post is true than we have long known, to our great Sorrow—he is *not well*—nor perhaps ever will be much better than he has been for some time past—& *that* is melancholy & heart breaking to us who so truly love & honour him.

In these letters no apter instance can be found of the truth we have already suggested—that Burney's feelings, when he trusts them,

<sup>1</sup> Eng. MS. 545. 8.

<sup>2</sup> Eng. MS. 545. 10.

purge away the self-consciousness from his style. Little in this passage could be altered for the better ; it comes perhaps as near to perfect naturalness as he ever attained. But of all the batch, the best letter as a whole is an earlier one, written from Oxford, and dated November 6, 1778.<sup>1</sup> It gives another picture, this time cheerful enough, of Dr. Johnson ; it hands out to Mrs. Thrale affectionate banter about learned ladies ; whether on William Seward, anecdotist and hypochondriac, on Oxford dons, or on Brighton, it is uniformly entertaining. Like all good letters it achieves discursiveness without being scrappy ; we quote it entire, for it stands the test :

Having commissioned Secretary Fanny to answer your last Charming Letter, or at least to thank you for it in her best Evelina Manner, I came hither on Tuesday Even<sup>g</sup> to run my Nose into Cobwebs, & consult the Learned. Our dear & good Doctor gave me Letters to Dr<sup>s</sup>. Wheeler & Edwards whom I like extreamly. The Former is a polite & agreeable Man of the World, as well as a good Scholar & Christian ; the latter almost an old School-Fellow, having left Shrewsbury School just when I entered it—he is moreover I find a remarkable good Græcian, & I trust a special Tory. Mr. Monkhouse of Queen's Coll. whose Guest I usually am, is a hospitable worthy Man, who hates Presb—rs, & is thoroughly *honest*. With these, & with other good Folks, how Charming a place w<sup>d</sup> Oxford be, if they had but the sense & politeness of Italy, & gave Degrees to learned Ladies ! Then there w<sup>d</sup> be some chance of meeting with a Dottorressa here equally deserving of the honour with the Laura Bassi, the Cerilla, or any modern Minerva of them all. Lord ! it w<sup>d</sup> have been so nice if you & my Master & the sweet Queeny & all, were here now instead of being blown to pieces in that Capital of the 4 Winds, Briton. But Mum ! it is only in stormy Weather, & at this distance that I dare speak irreverently of B—n. and it is very ungrateful to do it at all for I was very happy there last year, & sh<sup>d</sup> be so now in the same Company. But I owe every place a grudge that takes you out of reach. I tried to persuade Seward to come hither & refresh his memory concerning Wigs, Tobacco, and other parts of recondite Learning, of w<sup>ch</sup> y<sup>r</sup> fine Gent<sup>n</sup> who live in the great world have no Notion. But though I dined with him on Sat<sup>y</sup> & coaxed him all I c<sup>d</sup>, he was inexorable, & thought, I suppose, that the Doctors here, who are reputed Gourmands, w<sup>d</sup> have eat *him* up. On Sat<sup>y</sup> Even<sup>g</sup> determining to make a kind of Streatham Day of it, I took Fan in my hand & went to Bolt Court—where the good Soul rec<sup>d</sup> us with open Arms, & was so pleasant & Comical !—but you know him when he is off the great Horse, & condescends to tittup on a little Welsh Kephel.—But avast ! as my son<sup>2</sup> w<sup>d</sup> say—I must go to Christchurch—& moreover cease talking Nonsense, or

<sup>1</sup> Eng. MS. 545. 5.

<sup>2</sup> James Burney (1750-1821), his eldest son, afterwards Rear-Admiral.



I shall have my Tongue & Pen hacked off, & my Gown stripped over my Ears, and so adieu Dear Madam. Say kind things for me—get well & rosy—and let us live in hopes of a laugh ere long at dear Streatham.

C. B.

Burney went to Oxford to look out material for the second volume of his musical *History*; Johnson's two short letters for him to Wheeler and Edwards are in Boswell. They were written on 2 November, 1778, probably the day of Burney's visit to Bolt Court with "Fan in his hand." The engaging picture of Johnson "off the great horse" uses language curious to our ears. "Tittup," to canter, is racy English, though hardly employed to-day; on the other hand, "keffel" (to use the spelling favoured by dictionaries) is a dialect word for "horse"—the Welsh *ceffyl*; Burney would hear it as a boy in Shrewsbury.

We are at the end of the substantive references to Johnson. But Burney's descent into dialect points to another peculiarity of his writing, which his family shared; and of this a passing allusion to Johnson serves as an example. In a letter of 29 February, 1778,<sup>1</sup> Burney hopes that Mrs. Thrale "got our Dr. again safe & sound, after a frightful fall he got at Chamier's 'all so long as he vaas.'" The music master passed his days among foreign devotees of his art; their attempts at English were a standing diversion in the correspondence of the Burneys. Indeed, in this quill-driving family, writing was very much of a game. In letters or in journals, Fanny and her sisters might set down at one moment some piece of jargon they had heard on a foreigner's lips, next moment a scrap of contemporary slang; then, perhaps, they would attempt grandiloquence, and all for the fun of the thing. The doctor of music had in addition a fair stock of Latin, not to speak of professional Italian. To the former of these we owe, in this same letter, one touch in the description of a singer which is too droll to lose. He was a certain "Jimmy" Mathias,<sup>2</sup> unknown to Grove, and Burney writes of him: "You may not like his *vox taurina*, but you *must* allow that his *manner* is good." Polyglot quotation, slang, grandiloquence—these loosen the hold on sound English; from a game they may grow to a habit, whose effect, more

<sup>1</sup> Eng. MS. 545. 3.

<sup>2</sup> Thomas James Mathias, 1754?-1835, satirist and Italian scholar.

serious on Fanny than on her father, is the more to be lamented because of her greater importance in literature. For if the language of *Evelina*, of the *Diary* and of much of *Cecilia* stands secure, on one side of these comes the slang in the *Early Diary*, on the other the long sesquipedalian decline to the contortions of the *Memoirs of Dr. Burney*.

The references in these letters to family affairs now claim our attention. Burney's second wife, Mrs. Stephen Allen of King's Lynn, had two daughters, Maria and Bessy, by her first husband. With the publication of Fanny's *Early Diary*,<sup>1</sup> the story of Maria's runaway match with Edward Rishton became known; it counts for something in *Evelina*. But the misfortunes of the second Mrs. Burney did not end with the flight of this elder daughter, who married Rishton at Ypres on 16 May, 1772. A second chapter of them is revealed in a letter of Mrs. Thrale to Johnson, dated 18 October, 1777.<sup>2</sup> Bessy, we learn from the *Early Diary*, had been sent to Paris two years before "for the purpose of completing her education and refining her manners," under the care of a Mrs. Strange. She was then about fifteen. Mrs. Thrale must relate the upshot; she dashes into it, in her nimble way, after telling Johnson how she nearly choked herself with a chicken-bone:

Well when I was at the worst I would scarcely have changed Places with Mrs. Burney: She is the Doctor's second Wife you know, & had a fine Daughter—a great Fortune—by her former husband; whom she has kept some Years in France and about two or three Months ago she went over to fetch this Girl home, and I have seen some of her Letters to her Husband expressing the happiness she was enjoying at Paris in Company of this fine Daughter; how she delayed her Return because this Daughter so introduced her into high Company &c. but no sooner was Burney gone home to his Family . . . but he writes me word that Mrs. Burney was coming over from Dieppe to Brighthelmstone *all alone* in great Distress, her fine Daughter having eloped from her at Paris—and so in fact she *did* come yesterday, expecting to find the Dr. with us, but he was gone, & greater & more real Distress have I seldom seen.

Here are Burney's own mournful comments, in the letter of 1 November, 1777,<sup>3</sup> from which we have already quoted:

<sup>1</sup> *The Early Diary of Frances Burney, 1768-78*, ed. A. R. Ellis, 2 vols., 1907.

<sup>2</sup> Eng. MS. 541. 78.

<sup>3</sup> Eng. MS. 545. 1.

You were very good ("but 'tis a way you have") to try to comfort poor Madam after her unfortunate Campaign on the Continent. She changed her Resolution, & came to London the [day?] after her Landing, & the Day following we went together into Surry, for a week. She is now in Town, but invisible; 'tis humiliating to tell melancholy Stories abt one's Self, & more so to hear People pretend to pity one, when we know they have no more Feeling than *Punch*. I hate to think of the Trick that has been played her, & still more to talk about it.

Bessy Allen became Mrs. Meeke; but we lack information about her husband, and about other details of this obscure affair.<sup>1</sup>

To keep Johnson's name out of the Burneys' family history is not easy. It is known that he wrote to Dr. Warton, of Winchester School, on behalf of Burney's youngest son Dick,<sup>2</sup> when the boy was to be entered there. A new letter<sup>3</sup> to Mrs. Thrale betrays earlier schemes for Dick's welfare. Mr. Pitt, curate at St. George's, Hanover Square, was to instruct him; he was then to go to Westminster School:

Dr. J. says he knows Dr. Vincent the under master a little; if by chance he sh<sup>d</sup> meet w<sup>th</sup> him I know it w<sup>d</sup> be a Stimulus to his future kindness & attention if he w<sup>d</sup> do Dick the honour to say he knew him; & wished him well. . . . If at last, egregiâ et praeclarâ indole, Dick sh<sup>d</sup> astonish the world by his Erudition, I shall with equal humility & gratitude sing Non nobis &c.

Paternal anxiety comes out amusingly in those two heartfelt tags of Latin.

Edward Burney, Fanny's cousin, has his niche among book illustrators and portrait painters of his time; an overdose of modesty would seem to have kept him from the highest eminence. Sir Joshua Reynolds, it is known, praised him and helped him. An undated letter<sup>4</sup> from his uncle to Mrs. Thrale give fresh proofs of the great painter's kindness:

<sup>1</sup> Samuel Crisp wrote in March, 1781, to his sister Mrs. Gast: "Mrs. Dr. Burney has sent her poor little neglected Girl, Sally, over to Geneva, to her half sister, who ran away with an adventurer from Paris—did you ever hear of such a Scheme?" W. H. Hutton, *Burford Papers*, 1905, p. 60. Sally (Sarah Harriet Burney, 1770?-1844) was a novelist of repute in her day.

Bessy Allen's affair throws light on two passages in Johnson's *Letters* (ed. G. Birkbeck Hill, nos. 557 and 560, Oct. 22 and 29, 1777).

<sup>2</sup> Richard Thomas Burney, b. 1768, d. 1808 in India.

<sup>3</sup> Eng. MS. 545. 6.

<sup>4</sup> Eng. MS. 545. 8.

Sir Jos. has seen 2 or 3 of my Nephew's Academy drawings & has lent him Birk's portrait to Copy.—I asked him to send him a picture, & he very kindly desired him to come & choose—upon seeing the timid young Man's drawings he asked if he had been under Cipriani—said they were in a grand Style & told him he wd lend him a more pleasing Subject next time . . . 'Tis a modest lad of real merit.

Reynolds told Fanny Burney, at the height of her fame, that she might sit to him when she pleased. For some reason, matters got no further than that. Hoppner painted her; but her cousin Edward's somewhat idealised portrait of her remains most joyfully in the mind's eye—the lips hinting so clearly that spirit of mischief which is perhaps the most precious thing in her books, and belying so oddly the prim pose, the stiff hands, and the portentous headgear.

As to Burney's own attitude towards his daughter, several quiet touches in these letters make us feel his pride in her. One already quoted speaks of "secretary Fanny," who is commissioned to answer an epistle of Mrs. Thrale's "in her best *Evelina* manner." In the spring of renown and social vogue the authoress became a centre of contentious claims, of which in one letter<sup>1</sup> we get an inkling. "Still harping on my daughter"—Burney fires off these words of Polonius at Mrs. Thrale, who has invited her to Streatham; into the playfulness we read the anxiety of a father who would keep his child at her desk, away from glittering distractions. Behind him, pulling in the same direction, is the old family friend, Samuel Crisp of Chessington. Whereas Mrs. Thrale, who had sponsored Fanny in society, and launched this new portent on the most brilliant of drawing-rooms, grew petulant sometimes at the determination of Crisp and Burney to keep the authoress to her task. As we know, they won in the end, or *Cecilia* might never have been finished.

Mrs. Thrale passed on assiduously to Burney opinions on *Evelina* pronounced in her hearing by judges who mattered. Richard Cumberland the dramatist (original of Sheridan's Sir Fretful Plagiary) figures as a kill-joy in a well-known scene in the *Diary*. With his "Humph! I am told it has some humour!" and his sulky "So, so—oh, vastly well!" he parries Mrs. Thrale's accounts of how Johnson said nothing like it had appeared for years, of how Burke sat up all night to finish it, and other glorious news of the kind.

<sup>1</sup> Eng. MS. 545. 11.

Burney's counterblast<sup>1</sup> to Sir Fretful is about the most uncereemonious thing in these letters; though, even here, he brings in his tag of *Hamlet*:

And so that *Frelon C*——d does not like *Evelina*—nor her parent—hang him—'tis an innocent, tho' a Common Enemy to all who drive the Quill, good, bad & indiff—"here break we off" but you shall soon say "Lo! here he comes again."

Yet it is to be hoped the sensitive father never heard another verdict, passed on by Mrs. Thrale in a letter<sup>2</sup> to Johnson in these terms:

Mrs. Montagu cannot bear *Evelina*—let not that be published—her Silver-Smiths are Pewterers, she says, & her Captains Boatswains.

This pronouncement of the Queen of the Blues is one of the most interesting things in the whole correspondence. In the frigid balance of its wording, in its disdainful categories, we hear the voice of an *advocatus diaboli* not wholly to be ignored. It is easy to answer that, however bright her lustre in the literary drawing-rooms of a vanished age, Elizabeth Montagu as author and critic is decorously dead. Easy to add that *Evelina* lives to-day through the zest and the mischief of its character-drawing, most of all precisely through its author's inimitable touch upon vulgarity, for which, as Dr. Charles Vaughan once wrote, "she has the eye of a lynx." But Mrs. Montagu's pronouncement is not mere snobbishness. Let it be granted she could no more bear anything that is "low" than could those four shabby fellows in Goldsmith's play. Could she, from her lofty heights, truly apprise the inferiority of pewterers to silversmiths, even in the society of her own time? Yet though that silversmith Mr. Branghton, and his family, and (surely) Mr. Smith the Holborn *beau* should be safe from her attack, so much cannot be claimed for the unmitigated brute Captain Mirvan. He exemplifies one of the cheaf weaknesses of Johnson's "little character-monger," in her *Evelina* days—the crudeness of her sense of the ridiculous. He lays bare that remnant of callous brutality which she shared with her time; all her delicacy could not conceal it. Of this defect the blue-stockings, Mrs. Montagu at their head, did much to purge English letters and English society.

It is natural to look for products of the character-monger in Fanny's own correspondence. A few are to be found, for our joy, in her ten

<sup>1</sup> Eng. MS. 545. 9.

<sup>2</sup> Eng. MS. 541. 83.



short letters in this collection. Her budget may be dated 1778-84, all of it lying between the publication of *Evelina* and the breach with Mrs. Thrale. If the dates of a few letters may be further narrowed down, their writer gives us no help. Johnson, who petted her and praised her work to the limits of hyperbole, did not teach her that habit of dating which he taught Mrs. Thrale. She writes, as she generally does at this period, with unfailing clarity, sparkle and dash. Not that the events recounted are of much import; the personal references, the sentiments—to give this word the meaning of her own day—are often trivial. But the light, keen magic of her style preserves them; it is unstiffened, as yet, by the ponderousness of parts of *Cecilia*; best of all, as we have said, the character-monger gets to work on occasion.

This she does in the first letter<sup>1</sup> of all, in which Merlin, the mechanic and harpsichord-maker, familiar to readers of the *Early Diary*, comes for a moment into view. In a few lines we see how William Seward could be deliberately rude to him, and how Fanny, though outwardly polite, can hit off once more for Mrs. Thrale his cumbrous, parenthetic way of talking English:—

Merlin was here last night, & to know in what I had offended him I went down Stairs: & I find the mischief was all done by Mr. Seward, who told him we all laughed at him here—but he had the wit to say he did not thank him for such a *disagreeable sort of compliment*, though he does not *think it worth while that is to take notice of it to him*. So we parted very good friends.

More solid fare awaits us in a letter<sup>2</sup> from Chessington, the home of Fanny's old Mentor, "Daddy" Crisp. Hither she had retired to get on with the writing of *Cecilia*. Beginning with laments, usual enough in those times, of letters going astray, this epistle passes on to a charmingly natural skirmish between father and daughter, and winds up with a comic vignette worthy of a place in *Evelina*:

My Father . . . is prodigiously pleased with getting a Letter . . . for my part, I was upon the point of opening the Letter, so much did I expect it was for *me!* but however I had the grace to run to him with it, & beg he would *break the Seal* "for the Contents" quoth I, boldly, "are to *me*, as *you*, I am sure, have not earned them." "*Pray, Miss,*" cries he, "not so positive!"—& then, when he opened it, what, O what

<sup>1</sup> Eng. MS. 545. 17.

<sup>2</sup> Eng. MS., 545. 19.

became of my presumption? *He* laughed; so did not I; no, I went & *sulked* . . .

My Daddy Crisp is much delighted that you talk of again honouring him with a peep—and he is very earnest in hoping Mr. Thrale will be your Convoy. We have been laughing ourselves tired at Dinner by a mistake of a certain Mr. Hemmings, a forward Apothecary, who happened to be here, & finding Mr. Seward talked very well upon Physic, very solemnly, though rather abruptly, said to him "Sir, we have a very good opening now at Kingston in the Physical Line:—I suppose, Sir, you are in that line?"

So it is not only at *Bath* he is thought the young Doctor!

Here is Fanny Burney's authentic touch, her clean, sudden pounce upon anything like vulgarity. The mischief in the description is, as often, twofold. Not only do the few words bring the solemn Hemmings to life and duly pillory him; but Seward the hypochondriac, Seward the amateur of physic and self-indulgent retailer of his own symptoms—who was nevertheless by way of being a fine gentleman—meets with the fate he asks for and deserves.

We feel that Fanny's keen eyes would only have to contemplate Seward and Hemmings a little longer for her to set them down, living and moving, in a novel. They would turn into types, or "humours" in Ben Jonson's sense, beings whose actions and talk are only too much "in character." Horace Walpole complained thus of the personages in *Cecilia*: he was right. Of course, however much we may prefer the best drawn figures in *Evelina*—cruder, less consistent, but more human—the "type" may still be a great triumph and a great entertainment. As Fanny wrote this letter, the *Cecilian* types were forming in her brain. Thus we read with sympathy another note<sup>1</sup> of hers thanking Mrs. Thrale for some message of encouragement:

A little *cheer up* from you, my dearest Madam, always *New Mans* me: & the Belfields, Harrels & Delviles will all profit from it. Even Mr. Meadows will animate, & even Miss Leeson be almost tempted to prate.

Aristocrat, spendthrift, fop and the rest of them, these characters will talk and act more easily. But as Austin Dobson pointed out, it is a pity they can all be so readily labelled.

From our standpoint, mainly literary, the rest of Fanny's budget deserves no more than summary treatment. There is talk in one letter<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Eng. MS. 545. 18.

<sup>2</sup> Eng. MS. 545. 25.

of a prologue written by Mrs. Thrale to a play of Dr. Delap, also of one written by Fanny and sent to a Dublin theatre. She thinks her own prologue about the worst ever written, and begs for secrecy. She makes elsewhere two references, both quite trivial, to Johnson; also some that show her anxious regard for her father, and for her brother James, afterwards the Admiral, companion of Captain Cook and friend of the Lambs. A jest is passed on to that eligible bachelor, Mr. Crutchley, familiar to readers of the *Diary*. For all Fanny cares, "he may go as wigless as he pleases." A letter from Chessington is addressed to Mr. Thrale; in it she rallies him on his recent visit there, when he startled various inmates of Crisp's house and prowled about the kitchen calling for bread and cheese. At this we might raise a laugh did we forget what was the failing that hastened his death. And there is a short forthright note, full of concern and affection, to his wife, apparently on the news of his last illness.

Thrale died in April, 1781, rather more than a year before the appearance of *Cecilia*. On his widow's marriage with Gabriele Piozzi much ink has been shed. A Papist, a foreigner, a professional musician—it was a stiff mixture for London social opinion to swallow in those days. The match bore hard on Mrs. Thrale's daughters; they never became reconciled to her. Johnson, we know, repented of his first angry letter; but, supported by Macaulay, to name no others, the verdict long stood that the marriage was a thing to be ashamed of. The notion of eighteenth-century England that a musician must be more or less of a mountebank died hard. It would have had short shrift in Elizabethan times. Piozzi, an eminent teacher of his art, a fine singer, a capable violinist and pianist, came of a good Florentine family. An honourable, simple-minded man, on all our evidence he made a better husband than Thrale had done. Dearly though his wife paid for marrying him, she paid unflinchingly; her courage and constant affection did her great credit. Out of this affair the Burneys came none too well. Fanny disliked the match and let her friend know it; her congratulations on the marriage were deemed not cordial enough. Her father, himself a musician, would seem to have been less averse from the idea. But a letter<sup>1</sup> of his, dated 30 July, 1784 (a week after the wedding) lays bare a fresh reason among the many

<sup>1</sup> Eng. MS. 545. 12.

for the long and total breach that now took place between the Burneys and the Piozzis :

If my wishes for your felicity sh<sup>d</sup> seem to arrive late, I hope you will not imagine that I was slow in forming them ; but ascribe my silence to the true cause : my not being certain that the Event had taken place . . . I have been shut up in the *Spidery*, scribbling in the utmost hurry an Acct of the late Commemoration of Handel, for immediate publication. . . .

I fear Mr. P. is displeased with me for not writing to him at Milan in answer to the Letter w<sup>th</sup> w<sup>ch</sup> he favoured me from that City early last winter ; but you can explain to him my Situation, & the eternal hurry of my Life ; w<sup>ch</sup> so far from affording me sufficient time for my friends, & for social happiness, scarcely allows me leisure to support existence by the necessary aliments of sleep and food. . . . Make my Peace with him, dear Mad<sup>m</sup>, I entreat you. . . .

For Burney's neglect to answer that letter of Piozzi there can only be one true explanation. His long-drawn pleas of hurry have an exaggerated, even a shamefaced air. He and his daughter had, in fact, accepted the prevailing boycott of the Piozzis and gone over to the crowd.

The light of our correspondence now fails for many years. To a background of tremendous European happenings, events moved on in the circle of the Burneys. Johnson died, Fanny became Second Keeper of the Robes to Queen Charlotte, retired after five harassing, disappointing years, and married in 1793 the French *émigré* Alexandre D'Arblay. They were poor and happy. On the birth of a son Fanny had urgent recourse to her pen. Her tragedy, *Edwy and Elgiva*, was played at Drury Lane on 21 March, 1795. It was withdrawn after the first night, and never printed.<sup>1</sup> Mr. E. S. Shuckburgh, who examined the manuscript, wrote of "the incurable poverty of its stilted language, its commonplace sentiments, and its incorrect and inharmonious versification." Mr. Austin Dobson says : "though at some points there is a certain stir and action, the plot generally lacks incident and movement." Clearly, the decent fate of this stillborn play is silence, which we must nevertheless break to give the

<sup>1</sup>No other play of Fanny's reached the stage. Drama was an obvious resource ; for Sheridan was apparently ready to produce any work of hers without much examination. Of her various attempts, one most regrets *The Witlings*, suppressed in 1779 on the advice of her father and Crisp. Its dialogue must surely have had some of the sparkle of the *Evelina* period.

comments of Mrs. Siddons, who played the heroine. On 25 March, 1795, she wrote<sup>1</sup> to Mrs. Piozzi from London :

Oh there never was so wretched a thing as Mrs. D'arblay's Tragedy, even your friend Dr. Delap's was inferior in point of laughable circumstances. She was at the representation in spite of all I could say of the ill effects so much agitation as she must necessarily feel woud have upon an invalide, for she has been extremely ill . . . In truth it needed no discernment to see how it woud go, and I was grieved that a woman of so much merit must be so much mortified. The Audience were quite angelic and only laughed where it was *impossible* to avoid it. . . . Her brother negotiated the whole business, I never saw herself, but she went to my brothers the next day and nobly said, she had been decieved by her friends, that she saw it was a very bad thing, and withdrew it immediately—that was done like a woman of an exalted Spirit, and has wonderfully raised her in the opinion of all those who know the circumstance.

*Camilla* followed in 1796, marking the definite beginning of Fanny's decline as a novelist, but bringing in funds enough to build for the little family Camilla Cottage, near Mickleham. With the short Peace of Amiens came D'Arblay's ill-fated return to France, whither his wife and child followed him. For ten years they lived at Passy, unable, owing to war conditions, to send any but the scantiest news to England, and hearing only the scantiest in reply. Meanwhile the ageing Dr. Burney had published the last two volumes of his *History of Music*, with a tireless stream of smaller works on musical subjects and personalities. Driven for a while to Bath by his infirmities, he wrote there, on 6 January, 1807, the last Burney letter<sup>2</sup> from which substantive quotation need be made. Mrs. Piozzi, often in Bath when not at her Welsh house, Brynbella, had visited him. Old resentment had died down. The Doctor writes to her in a strain touchingly compounded of old man's formalism, old man's complaining, and genuine renascent affection. He tells of his cold, his cough, his paralysed hand, "the rapid decay of sight, hearing, and memory." He talks—we could be sure he would—of the sword of Damocles hanging over him. He apologises for "the garrulity of an octogenaire." But the most significant part of the letter must be quoted in full :—

As soon as I am able to go out like other Christians, with safety, be assured, dear Madam, that nothing will afford me more pleasure than the renewal of old friendships, & the talking over old times ;

<sup>1</sup> Eng. MS. 582. 5.

<sup>2</sup> Eng. MS. 545. 13.



and I shall wait on my ingenious & worthy friend Mr. Piozzi with the utmost pleasure. He was the first who let me know what good singing was, & excited in me so strong a desire to hear Pacchierotti, whose style he imitated beyond any other vocal performer.

Thus generously, if tardily, Burney holds out the hand of friendship to Piozzi, with the distinctive tribute his knowledge fitted him to give. The style of the letter, formal in some places, lapsing feebly in others, has in this passage a true and beautiful ring of the old century. It is stately, yet simple, with no needless long word. "The renewal of old friendships and the talking over old times"—that sounds like Johnson at his most humane.

In the same year, 1807, began the long series of letters<sup>1</sup> written to Mrs. Piozzi by Marianne Francis, a collection which lifts a few folds of the gloom of the obscurest period in Fanny's life. Clement Francis, private secretary to Warren Hastings (so runs the family account) read *Evelina* while in India. Thereupon he determined to marry Fanny. He came home to England in 1785, gained an introduction, but, disappointed in his hopes, married Charlotte, her youngest sister, instead. He then settled in Aylsham, Norfolk, as a surgeon. Born in 1790, his elder daughter Marianne grew up studiously inclined. Her grandfather Burney thought her a "monster" of knowledge. The breach once healed, she would naturally seek and value correspondence with a learned lady and family friend so eminent as Mrs. Piozzi.

In her earliest epistles, indeed, the deferential flattery often grows wearisome. Yet in these there is no lack of spirit, even of gaiety; and Marianne has a distinct turn for epigram. With news of the family, she pours out many other interests of an eager, retentive mind; these are at first predominantly literary. But her reception of Scott's poems, as they appear in the early years of the new century, may be taken as typical of the gradual but complete revolution that worked itself out in her mind and her heart. She liked *Marmion* and the *Lay*; but in 1812 we find her writing: "Is it not scandalous that he is publishing another new poem with another ugly name already—*Rokeby*? But while there are so many idle ladies his works will always succeed." Already she had delivered herself on Coleridge, "who has great natural powers, I hear, but too much constitutional indolence

<sup>1</sup> Eng. MS. 589-591.

to apply them to anything but his tongue." As for Voltaire, one text of Scripture serves her for him : "It were well for that man if he had never been born." Frankly she avows in 1817 "My train of reading [is] rather of the serious than the whipt syllabub sort." She inherited another taste natural to the child of a Burney : "nothing in this world," she wrote in 1809, "gives me such pleasure as very fine music." (This pleasure co-existed strangely with a fondness for the playing and the compositions of that entirely forgotten pianist Joseph Woelfl.) But gradually references to music and to general literature fade out of her letters ; her high spirits fade out too. As early as in 1808 Wilberforce and his reforming zeal had begun to lay hold of her. In 1813 she meets him ; he is "the most angelic creature I ever beheld. Sweet as a seraph." Henceforth she is devoted to good works, in particular to the service of Wilberforce and of Arthur Young, the agriculturist. She taught in the private schools established by Young round Bradfield. In his later days of blindness she became assistant to his French secretary St. Croix. With her other tasks she kept in trim her notable gift for languages ; Young's daughter Mary credits her with reading "Greek, Latin, Italian, Hebrew, Arabic, German, Spanish, French, Dutch," with three *etceteras*.<sup>1</sup> Yet the bluestocking in her is quite overshadowed in the end by the evangelical Christian. Significantly the gaps between the dates of her epistles to Mrs. Piozzi begin to widen. The intrepid dame of Brynbella, holding aloft to the last in her letters the banner of wit and malice and gaiety, has to attend to the recital of various highly improving deaths, and to endure scarcely veiled rebukes of her frivolity and worldliness. What, indeed, could the Marianne of 1820 think of that famous Bath ball, when her friend, on her eightieth birthday,<sup>2</sup> led off the dances with Sir John Piozzi Salisbury ?

The budget holds many affectionate references to Charles Burney in his last days ; to his sweetness of temper (only once do we hear that "like Dr. Johnson" he is "not *sublime* when he is cross"), to his studious, bedridden state ("till dinner he lies in bed with a little establishment of desks and books to read and write"), to his shrinking

<sup>1</sup> *The Autobiography of Arthur Young*, ed. M. Betham-Edwards, 1898, p. 473. Young married Martha Allen, sister of Charles Burney's second wife.

<sup>2</sup> So she believed ; it was really her seventy-ninth.

from cold and to his joy when the sun lets him creep abroad for a while. At eighty-two he outwalked his daughter Charlotte in Kensington Gardens; on 9 April, 1812, when he was close on eighty-six, "Mama went to Chelsea this morning, and there found Grandpapa stout and well, and reading to her a small print, without spectacles, in a dark room." This we must reconcile as best we can with the complaint about "rapid decay of sight" in Burney's last letter in our collection.

Of the D'Arblays, whom we left in Passy, deprived by the war of all but the slowest and most uncertain communication with England, the earliest tidings in Marianne's budget are given in a postscript added by her mother to a letter of 1807. Charlotte (her name is now Broome; Clement Francis had been dead fifteen years) tells of news received by her father from Fanny, whose son Alexander, "rising thirteen," has won prizes at his school for learning and good conduct. Nothing further in the way of detail meets us until, on 9 March, 1809, Marianne refers to a letter of Fanny's "full of apprehensions lest Alex should fall under that horrid conscription and be forced away to fight, against English arms perhaps."<sup>1</sup> In December, 1810, we hear that "a letter is arrived from Aunt D'Arblay to Grandpapa . . . just a sort of guarded assurance that she is alive, I fancy, with a little Greek letter from her son Alex to my uncle Charles."<sup>2</sup> I like him for that." Hitherto we see "Alex" more clearly than we see Fanny, who takes on, nevertheless, a somewhat startling actuality in a letter of 21 March next year: "Au reste, my aunt D'Arblay is grown *fat*, & has a foreign accent; *i.e.*, talks like a Frenchwoman speaking *remarkable good English*. Her son, Alexander, six feet high. They are not in the same consterna-

<sup>1</sup> Eng. MS. 589. 53. With this anxious news, Marianne unexpectedly recounts a story of young Alexander's very early years. "When he was quite a baby he called his nurse a *Fool* one day. 'My dear,' said his Mama, 'you must never call your nurse a Fool.' 'Who *may* I call Fool, then?' 'Nobody, my little boy.' 'Why, then, *what's the word made for?*' said Alex, sharp enough."

<sup>2</sup> Charles Burney the younger (1757-1817), second son of the musician, was a Greek scholar, in his day the rival of Porson and Parr. His valuable library is now in the British Museum. His one letter in our collection (Eng. MS. 545. 27), dated 24 January, 1807, offers courteous apologies to Mr. and Mrs. Piozzi; owing to a cold he has been unable to see them on a visit to Bath.

tion for fear he should be drawn in this dire conscription, for Alek has distinguished himself,<sup>1</sup> & men of talents are excepted." This last fact draws a "Bravo Buonaparte!" from Marianne's usually discreet pen. The report about Fanny's English is ominous of her decline as a writer; *The Wanderer* and the *Memoirs of Dr. Burney* were yet to appear. Whatever of decadent Johnsonese there may be in their contortions and pomposities, mere disuse of her native idiom must also have played its part. The *Diary* tells how Fanny, after many difficulties, landed in England with her son in August, 1812. Marianne writes<sup>2</sup> to Mrs. Piozzi on the 1st of September:—

She is with Grandpapa at Chelsea now & will be a week with my sister<sup>3</sup> at Richmond . . . I shall try to be there at the same time. *Curiosity* is my predominant feeling, for to pretend affection for a person one never saw, is ridiculous; & I have not the most remote recollection of my celebrated Aunt . . . Alex is a prodigy in mathematics, & Clem<sup>4</sup> says would shine in an English university. They fell upon *equations* at their first interview. . . . All this I heard in a letter from Charlotte.

Not until 15 January<sup>5</sup> next year did Marianne actually see Fanny. Then she particularises a little further the two vague portraits left by these letters on our minds—that of the son remaining somewhat clearer than that of the mother:—

Mrs. D'Arblay is grown very fat, & does not look more than 40 years old. Very good spirits, lively, & entertaining, but wretched health, poor dear soul, & obliged to keep her room one day in two. Her son Alexander is 17; a very expressive, dark-eyed, intelligent creature—a perfect bookworm; his nose always in mathematics or Thucydides.

Faint though all this new light from Marianne's letters may be, it adds a few facts to the record of a period scantily illumined in the *Diary*. Another fact, one much to this lady's credit, must now be chronicled. She tried, five years before their full reconciliation and

<sup>1</sup> He had been chosen for admission to the École Polytechnique.

<sup>2</sup> Eng. MS. 590. 100.

<sup>3</sup> Charlotte Barrett, who edited (1842-6) the *Diary and Letters of Mme. D'Arblay*.

<sup>4</sup> Marianne's brother, Clement Francis the younger. His few letters (which follow hers in Eng. MS. 591) offer some business advice to Mrs. Piozzi; they contain chat about Cambridge, where he studied, and current war news and gossip.

<sup>5</sup> Eng. MS. 590. 106.

the rebirth of their correspondence, to bring together her aunt and Mrs. Piozzi. The breach rankled the more bitterly in the mind of the latter : witness in her journals and letters such designations as "*l'aimable traîtresse*" long after the fatal year 1784. Through Marianne, Fanny made the first advances. In this message<sup>1</sup> of 15 March, 1813, we trace the cumbrous roll of her later style with its cloud of abstractions :—

My Aunt D'Arblay . . . charges me to say from her, that your early kindness never has been obliterated from her memory, & never can ; that she always preserves, amongst her favourite hoards, its eloquent expression ; & that if you were in town, she could with difficulty refrain from seeing if no part of it still remained:

Mrs. Piozzi, however, still held out ; her answer was clearly not of the kind desired ; so on 14 April, Marianne tried again.<sup>2</sup> She worked in judicious details, which we do not quote, about the operation for cancer performed on Madame D'Arblay in Paris two years before :—

I did not read your mention of Aunt D'Arblay to her, because I thought it would make her fret . . . As she was so desirous of something kind & conciliatory, & is, perhaps, poor thing, in a most *dangerous* state, I think if you can bring yourself to send anything like a kind message, it would be a most Christian act in you, & give great happiness to her.

In the upshot Mrs. Piozzi, in town on business, called on May 11th. Alas ! Marianne writes to her :—<sup>3</sup>

I was at my school and Aunt D'Arblay had unhappily crawled out for some air, & was inexpressibly mortified & grieved, she desires me to say, at finding you had been, during the *only* absence she had made from home so long.

Fanny called on Mrs. Piozzi next day, to find her gone to Bath. The chance had slipped by. Yet the final reconciliation of 1818, matter of history as it is, might well not have happened but for Marianne Francis.

Quotation from her letters must however cease here ; their new light on our subjects definitely gives out. Other matters of history, most of them sad enough for Fanny, must be set down : her father's death in 1814 ; her return to France on the Restoration, when her

<sup>1</sup> Eng. MS. 590. 109.

<sup>2</sup> Eng. MS. 590. 110.

<sup>3</sup> Eng. MS. 590. 113.



husband was made an officer of the King's Bodyguard ; the promising career of Alexander at Cambridge (he was tenth Wrangler in 1818) ; the alarm of the Hundred Days ; the kick of a horse which compelled the retirement and hastened the end of the chivalrous, ill-fated D'Arblay. Widowed in 1818, Fanny settled at 11 Bolton Street, Piccadilly, sorting multitudinous papers. Her *Memoirs* of her father (1832), valuable though much of their material remains, are now mostly thought of as an example of how not to write English. The *Diary and Letters of Madame D'Arblay*, edited by Marianne's sister Charlotte Barrett, appeared two years after Fanny's death ; this work in its best parts rivals anything else of the kind in literature ; it may well, in those parts, outlive Evelina, the Branghtons and Mr. Smith. One passage of the *Diary*<sup>1</sup> chooses itself, so to speak, for quotation. To the newly acquired correspondence in this Library, alike from the Burneys and from Miss Francis, it serves as an imposing climax, and to the recipient of the letters as an epitaph. For in May, 1821, nineteen years before Fanny died, the invincible Mrs. Piozzi met her conqueror :

I have lost now, just lost, my once most dear, intimate and admired friend, Mrs. Thrale Piozzi, who preserved her fine faculties, her imagination, her intelligence, her power of allusion and citation, her extraordinary memory, and her almost unexampled vivacity, to the last of her existence. She was in her eighty-second<sup>2</sup> year, and yet owed not her death to age nor to natural decay, but to the effects of a fall in a journey from Penzance to Clifton. On her eightieth birthday she gave a great ball, concert and supper, in the public rooms at Bath, to upwards of two hundred persons, and the ball she opened herself. She was, in truth, a most wonderful character for talents and eccentricity, for wit, genius, generosity, spirit, and powers of entertainment.

Perhaps it is not classic prose ; it runs too volubly ; and it wanders later into a futile comparison of Mrs. Piozzi with Madame de Stael. Johnson, a master of literary epitaph, would have chiselled and solidified these sentences. But then he was a man ; Fanny's words have the flow, the attack, the enthusiasm of a generous woman. Hardly, indeed, in generosity could Johnson have outdone them.

The Burneys were a long-lived clan. Fanny, whose father reached eighty-eight, died on 6 January, 1840, missing that age by about six months. A tragic exception, her son had died three years before her.

<sup>1</sup> *Diary and Letters*, ed. Barrett, iv., 461.

<sup>2</sup> Mrs. Piozzi was a year younger than Fanny supposed.

the newly appointed minister of Ely Chapel. This much-tried woman, as a girl, had danced round Crisp's mulberry tree on hearing what the great folk in letters thought of *Evelina*. Incredible years ago, she had skirmished with her father and pounced on Seward and Hemmings in the letter we have cited. She had known two French revolutions, and world-shaking war; she had lived from sedan-chairs to railways; Johnson had petted her, and she died in the year of Browning's *Sordello*. Timid and prudish though she appeared, high courage had taken her through. Nor did she outlive her age quite alone. Samuel Rogers, no power in letters but a personage, had, as a shy young man, called on Johnson, but gone away without knocking. He died in the year of *The Shaving of Shagpat*. With him, on occasion, Fanny would talk over old times; with this incident, often quoted, from his *Table Talk*, we let the curtain fall:

"Life! we've been long together,  
Through pleasant and through cloudy weather."

"Sitting with Madame D'Arblay some weeks before she died, I said to her, 'Do you remember those lines of Mrs. Barbauld's *Life* which I once repeated to you?' 'Remember them!' she replied: 'I repeat them to myself every night before I go to sleep.'"

# THE CHRONICLE OF JOHN STRECCHÉ FOR THE REIGN OF HENRY V (1414-1422).<sup>1</sup>

By FRANK TAYLOR, M.A.

THE chronicle which is printed below in its entirety for the first time comprises the major portion (ff. 265-279v.) of the fifth book of the *Historia Regum Anglie* of John Strecche, canon of Kenilworth, contained in *British Museum Additional MS.* 35295.<sup>2</sup> A very brief assessment of its historical value has previously been attempted by Mr. C. L. Kingsford in his *English Historical Literature in the Fifteenth Century*,<sup>3</sup> and a somewhat longer one by M. R. Planchenault.<sup>4</sup> An extract, the famous tennis-ball story, is quoted in Dr. Oscar Emmerig's article *Dariusbrief und Tennisballgeschichte*,<sup>5</sup> and the same incident is translated in Mr. Kingsford's *Henry V*,<sup>6</sup> and *The First English Life of Henry V*,<sup>7</sup> and in Mrs. Buckland's *England under the Lancastrians*,<sup>8</sup> which contains translations of three other portions of this chronicle.<sup>9</sup>

JOHN STRECCHÉ.<sup>10</sup>—Little is known of the compiler of the

<sup>1</sup> Part of a thesis submitted for the Degree of Master of Arts of Manchester University. I wish to express my thanks to Mr. V. H. Galbraith, Reader in Diplomatic in the University of Oxford, for several valuable suggestions.

<sup>2</sup> For a summary description of the MS. see *Catalogue of Brit. Mus. Add. MSS.*, 1899.

<sup>3</sup> Pp. 41-43.

<sup>4</sup> *Bibl. Ecole des Chartes*, lxxxv.

<sup>5</sup> *Englische Studien*, xxxix., 400.

<sup>6</sup> *Introd.*, pp. x.-xi.

<sup>7</sup> *Introd.*, pp. xliii.-xliv.

<sup>8</sup> Pp. 30-31.

<sup>9</sup> Pp. 45-47, 51-53, 61-62.

<sup>10</sup> He reveals his name in a rather long rubric at the end of Book 3 of the *Historia* (f. 246v.). (This is quoted in full in *Eng. Hist. Lit.*, p. 40, n. 1.) The monogram 'I.S.' occurs on ff. 2v., 6. 'Ion Strecche' is formed by the initial (red) letters of a couplet at the foot of f. 2v., and 'I. Strecche' occurs on f. 136v. From the particular attention paid to events in and around Kenilworth and to the history of the Priory it is clear that he was a canon of that house. Note also: 'Iohannes Porter nobis benefactor' (f. 257, l. 29); 'Iohannes Merton frater noster,' 'Willelmus Dexter . . . frater noster'

*Historia*. In 1407 he was presented to the custody of the cellula of Brooke or Broke in Rutlandshire,<sup>1</sup> a very poor house supporting only two or three canons.<sup>2</sup> He held his position here for approximately eighteen years, an abnormally long rule for Brooke, as its poverty led to the early resignation of the majority of its priors; his own took place in 1425.<sup>3</sup> Beyond these scanty facts we know nothing concerning his life. No mention of his name occurs either in the cartulary of the Rutlandshire house, which has survived in only two delapidated folios,<sup>4</sup> or in that of Kenilworth,<sup>5</sup> and the only references to Brooke in the *Historia*, four in number,<sup>6</sup> have no relation to him. Dr. Wylie's suggestion that his family was connected with either Norfolk or the West Country<sup>7</sup> is probably correct, although no evidence has been found which will relate Strecche to any of the numerous bearers of his name occurring in contemporary documents.<sup>8</sup>

Apart from the *Historia*, which he precedes with a brief history of England from Brutus to A.D. 827, and the story of Albina and her sisters,<sup>9</sup> Strecche is the author of a treatise on the thirty "colours" or

(f. 262v., ll. 34, 35); 'manerii nostri' (*Ibid.*, l. 23) used in connection with Hichenden, Bucks., granted to Kenilworth by Geoffrey de Clinton's third charter (*Monasticon*, vi., 221).

<sup>1</sup> *V.C.H. Rutland*, i. 161. This house was founded by Hugh de Ferrers in 1153 as a cell of Kenilworth Priory.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.* 159; *Monast.*, vi., 233.

<sup>3</sup> *V.C.H. Rutland*, i. 161; *Vis. Dioc. Linc. (Cant. and York Soc.*, vol. xvii.), ed. A. H. Thompson, i. 162. His successor, Wm. Shroesbury, was admitted on 25 June, 1425 (*Ibid.*).

<sup>4</sup> *Exch. K. R. Eccles. Docs.*, E, 135, 2/9.

<sup>5</sup> *Harleian MS.*, 3650.

<sup>6</sup> Ff. 251, 253v., 256v., 263. It is clear from these references that Brooke Priory served mainly as a house of correction. 'Qui locus sive cellula flagellum in manu Prioris de Kenill' semper fuit, est et erit' (f. 253v., ll. 29-30).

<sup>7</sup> *Henry V*, i., 191, n. 5. The Strecche family apparently originated in Dorsetshire where we find two main branches. (For genealogical tables see J. Hutchins, *Hist. and Antiquities of the County of Dorset*, iv., 197.) From here it spread into Norfolk, Worcestershire, Somersetshire, and the West Country generally.

<sup>8</sup> Unless with the John Strecche mentioned in the notebook of Wm. Swan, notary at the Curia, to whom certain letters are to be given (Bodleian Lib. MS., *Arch. Seld. B.*, 23, f. 42v.). Nothing further is added. I owe this reference to Miss D. Wolff.

<sup>9</sup> Ff. 229, 230.

different kinds of rhyming verse,<sup>1</sup> and a *Cronica*<sup>2</sup> written to support the cause of the Augustinian Canons against the claims of the Friars who represented St. Augustine in their garb as their founder. This assertion of superiority he also expresses in verse.<sup>3</sup> In addition he made copies of the *Liber Catonis*,<sup>4</sup> Æsop's fables,<sup>5</sup> and a poem on the fall of Troy which has been attributed to Hildebert, Archbishop of Tours (1125-34).<sup>6</sup> Finally, we may note his acquaintance with Bede,<sup>7</sup> John Chrysostom,<sup>8</sup> Guido delle Colonne's *Historia Troiana*,<sup>9</sup> Geoffrey of Monmouth's *Historia Regum Britanniae*,<sup>10</sup> and the *Speculum Stultorum* of Nigel,<sup>11</sup> monk of Canterbury; he makes one vague reference to Theophrastus, through Marcus Aurelius.<sup>12</sup>

DATE OF WRITING.—Apart from the information contained in the narrative itself we possess no definite indications as to the date of writing.<sup>13</sup> The two most valuable points occur in an earlier portion of the *Historia*. In a reference to Henry IV's appointment of his son Thomas as Duke of Clarence, Strecche states, *De quo nobilissimo Thoma . . . et de eius morte plenius dicitur in vita regis Henrici Vi que hic infra sequitur, in capitulo quod ita incipit, Hiis Omnibus*.<sup>14</sup> This chapter deals with events in 1421, including the Baugé disaster and the reporting of Clarence's death to the King.<sup>15</sup> As Henry did not hear of the latter until 9 or 10 April (1421),<sup>16</sup> it is

<sup>1</sup> *Add. MS.*, 38665, f. 33. For a description of this MS. see *Catalogue of Brit. Mus. Add. MSS.*, 1913; *Hist. MSS. Comm.*, 3rd Rep. App., p. 243.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, f. 6.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, ff. 5, 5v.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, f. 35v.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*, f. 41. See also H. L. D. Ward, *Cat. of Romances*, ii. 309.

<sup>6</sup> *Add. MS.*, 35295, f. 3.

<sup>7</sup> *Ibid.*, f. 234v., ll. 19, 32.

<sup>8</sup> *Ibid.*, f. 232.

<sup>9</sup> *Ibid.*, f. 6.

<sup>10</sup> *Ibid.*, ff. 136v., 231v.

<sup>11</sup> *Add. MS.*, 38665, f. 85. He quotes from this below (p. 185).

<sup>12</sup> *Add. MSS.*, 35295, f. 232. We may also notice references to 'quidam antiquitatis libelli' (*ibid.*, f. 231), and 'per Bedam et alios' (*ibid.*, f. 234v.).

<sup>13</sup> The hand is early fifteenth century. The past tense is used throughout save where 'Quibus Christus conferat auxilium' occurs in connection with the army before Harfleur in 1415 (below, p. 152).

<sup>14</sup> f. 264.

<sup>15</sup> Below, p. 184.

<sup>16</sup> He was informed after leaving Beverley (*Vita et Gesta Henrici Quinti*, ed. T. Hearne, p. 304; *Northern Chron.* in *Eng. Hist. Lit.*, p. 290. The latter will be referred to as *North. Chron.* in the following pages). Strecche, however, states that he heard of it at Lincoln (below, p. 184).



clear that everything following the reference quoted, and that includes the whole of his reign save the last year, was written after this date. A second point appears to definitely place the writing of the Henry V. section after 1422, for, referring to the death of Owen Glendower *circa annum ultimum Henrici regis iiii<sup>ti</sup>*, the chronicler adds, *post hec Wallici omnes in tempore regis Henrici V<sup>ti</sup> pacem firmam habuerunt et regis regimini et eius corone se libenter in omnibus subdiderunt*.<sup>1</sup> From the general impression obtained one is inclined to disassociate Strecche's narrative from its connection with the immediate neighbourhood of 1422, and push back the date of writing further into Henry VI's reign. It is certain that the bulk, probably the whole, of the Henry IV section had still to be written in 1417,<sup>2</sup> and it appears most probable that Book V of the *Historia* and possibly much of Book IV was not commenced until after Henry V's death.

SOURCES.—Strecche's account has certain points of correspondence with other extant chronicles. The details of the royal itinerary of 1421, for example, may have been taken from a now lost or untraced source which was also drawn upon by the writers of the *Northern Chronicle* and the *Vita*.<sup>3</sup> Similarities may also be noticed to certain passages of Elmham's *Liber Metricus*,<sup>4</sup> notably in the references to Henry's connection with Kenilworth, the building of the royal manor of Plesantmaris and the sending of the tennis balls, while both chroniclers probably took their accounts of Henry IV's death-bed scene<sup>5</sup> from some current authentic account. But, with one exception, no instance of direct borrowing can be traced.

For his information concerning the siege of Rouen,<sup>6</sup> Strecche, as his fellow-chroniclers, relied almost entirely on John Page's poem or

<sup>1</sup> F. 264v.

<sup>2</sup> From internal evidence his account of Henry IV's reign can be divided into three parts: (1) ff. 261-263. (Although the reign does not nominally begin until f. 262, a portion of it occurs on f. 261.) Written after Dec., 1413. In this section can be included the end, at least, of Richard II's reign. The whole of the latter was written after 1399. (2) ff. 263-264v., the bulk of the reign. Written in or after 1417. (3) ff. 264v.-265. Written after 1422.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. *North. Chron.*, p. 290; *Vita*, pp. 300 *sqq.*

<sup>4</sup> *Lib. Met.*, in C. A. Cole, *Memorials of Henry V*, pp. 100, 101.

<sup>5</sup> Cf. *Add. MS.*, 35295, f. 264v.; T. Wright, *Political Poems and Songs*, ii., 120.

<sup>6</sup> Below, pp. 168 *sqq.*

a paraphrase of it. In the course of the narrative an incident is recorded which does not occur in either the poem or the prose versions, the reference to the means employed by the King to furnish the upper reaches of the river with ships.<sup>1</sup> Livio,<sup>2</sup> and the Pseudo-Elmham,<sup>3</sup> the only other chroniclers to refer to this, have an inferior account. It is clear that Strecche either was able to supplement the information supplied by Page or that he used a version of the latter's poem to which other facts had been added. The peculiar incorrectness of certain of his details,<sup>4</sup> together with a further addition, appear to support the second suggestion, for the latter, the valuable account of the sally from the Porte Beauvoisine on 25 Nov., 1418,<sup>5</sup> occurs entirely out of its context, being appended to what is apparently meant to be a complete narrative of the siege. The third and last addition in detail, an estimate of the losses of Rouen through battle and famine,<sup>6</sup> is given, as one would expect, at the end of the account.<sup>7</sup>

For the remainder of his material Strecche had sources of information which can only be suggested; he certainly does not appear to have made use of any other account now extant. It is possible that he had access to some chronicle which is at present unknown to us,<sup>8</sup> but a second suggestion may be of greater interest. In following Henry's movements about England one is impressed by the genuine liking he had for Kenilworth. It was there that he went to recover from the wound he received at the Battle of Shrewsbury.<sup>9</sup> He stayed there in the Spring of 1408,<sup>10</sup> in January, 1414,<sup>11</sup> on February, 27, 28, and March, 2, 7, and 16 of the same year,<sup>12</sup> and from

<sup>1</sup> By dragging them for two miles overland with sails set (below, p. 170).

<sup>2</sup> Tito Livio, *Vita Henrici Quinti* (ed. T. Hearne), p. 61 sq.

<sup>3</sup> *Vita*, p. 182.

<sup>4</sup> E.g., below, pp. 170, 173.

<sup>5</sup> Below, p. 175 sq.

<sup>6</sup> Below, p. 176.

<sup>7</sup> Strecche's narrative of the siege of Rouen corresponds almost exactly in detail with the poem printed in *Archeologia*, xxi., 48-78, xxii., 361-384, apart from the additions mentioned above and one or two minor points noted below. Notice the King's speech on p. 168 (below).

<sup>8</sup> Many of the corrections of and additions to Livio given by the Pseudo-Elmham may have been obtained from such a source.

<sup>9</sup> *Add. MS.*, 35295, f. 263v.; J. H. Wylie, *Henry IV*, i. 362.

<sup>10</sup> Wylie, *op. cit.*, iii., 118.

<sup>11</sup> *Lib. Met.*, p. 100; *Rym.*, ix., 117; Wylie, *Henry V*, i., 315, n. 3.

<sup>12</sup> R. B. Mowat, *Henry V*, p. 321; *Cal. Pat. Rolls*. (1413-1416), pp. 163, 172, 173.

17 December, 1416, to 25 January, 1417.<sup>1</sup> Finally, he made a point of calling at his *castellum dilectum de Kenilleworth* in the course of the 1421 itinerary.<sup>2</sup> The amount of time Henry spent at Kenilworth was only exceeded by that spent in London. His manors of Cheylesmore<sup>3</sup> and Plesantmaris were close at hand; to build the latter he had taken the trouble to drain a marsh.<sup>4</sup> Moreover, it must be remembered that the castle was in constant use as a prison.<sup>5</sup> At such a place there must have been abundant opportunity of obtaining information either from rumour and gossip or from more authentic sources; members of the royal following or even the prisoners in the castle would frequently be available. That this suggestion is a probable one appears to be indicated by the type of narrative Strecche presents. The many picturesque and personal stories, with their attendant inaccuracies, may well be the product of his connection with Kenilworth.

HISTORICAL VALUE.—As a source of information for the major events of Henry V's reign this chronicle is of little value. Its accounts, for example, of the 1415 campaign, Agincourt, the more serious details of the second campaigns or the negotiations of 1419-20 are worthless in view of other information we possess, carelessness being often evident and a strong prejudice in favour of the English which results in distortion not only in numbers but also in interpretation. The outstanding example of the latter is the Baugé disaster which is transformed into a comparatively insignificant accident.<sup>6</sup> Strecche's account certainly has the support of Basset<sup>7</sup> in its main outlines, but had Clarence really been betrayed by a treacherous Italian the excuse would have been seized by every English and Burgundian writer. Moreover, particular care appears

<sup>1</sup> R. B. Mowat, *Henry V*, p. 322; Walsingham (*Hist. Angl.*, ed. H. T. Riley), ii., 317; Wylie, *op. cit.*, iii., 41, n. 9.

<sup>2</sup> Below, p. 184.

<sup>3</sup> Dugdale, *Warwickshire*, 1656, p. 140.

<sup>4</sup> Below, p. 184; *Lib. Met.*, p. 101.

<sup>5</sup> E.g., Wm. Ederic, a Derbyshire priest, whose support of the Lollards made him a constant source of trouble, was imprisoned at Kenilworth (Wylie, *op. cit.*, i., 271, n. 8). Twenty prisoners from Meaux were detained there (*Ibid.*, iii., p. 351, n. 10).

<sup>6</sup> Below, p. 184 sq.

<sup>7</sup> See B. J. H. Rowe, *A Contemporary Account of the 100 Years War from 1415-1429* (*E.H.R.*, xli., 504-513). Hall (*Chron.*, ed. Ellis, p. 106) obtained the story from Basset. Neither mentions a dying Duchess of Clarence.

to have been taken to reassure those in England as to the "unimportance" of the disaster.<sup>1</sup> Strecche's efforts to connect it with the incidents after the taking of Pontoise at the end of July, 1419,<sup>2</sup> also distort his account of the latter, for Andrew Lombard and Clarence<sup>3</sup> have been neatly fitted into the places that should be occupied by the Captal de Buch and Huntingdon. It is clear that he had a good general idea of how the town was taken, but it is equally obvious that his account was written with Baugé always in view and as such must be suspected.

But the chronicle contains much other valuable information. The conspiracy against Henry during his stay in Rouen (1419)<sup>4</sup> is a trustworthy addition, entirely distinct from a second plot for which Livio<sup>5</sup> and Pierre de Fenin<sup>6</sup> are our sole chronicle authorities. The account given by the latter differs completely in detail as well as in date, Henry being at Mantes,<sup>7</sup> not in Rouen, and the conspirators being executed. It is certainly possible to argue that on the first occasion the King was lenient but on a recurrence had no mercy. Conspiracies against the English took place with alarming frequency.<sup>8</sup> The 1421 itinerary<sup>9</sup> is a second addition of undoubted value, by far surpassing the somewhat meagre statements given in the *Northern Chronicle*,<sup>10</sup> and the *Vita*,<sup>11</sup> the only other narratives in which it occurs; the former adds, however, that Henry visited Bridlington. The detailed account of the Valmont campaign of 1416<sup>12</sup> is also of value in spite of certain errors. The forces opposing the English are enormously exaggerated, and we are wrongly informed that the conflict took place after Exeter had taken Valmont; but the terms proffered by Armagnac, the consultation of the Duke with Carew and John Jenico preparatory to withdrawal in

<sup>1</sup> Planchenault, *op. cit.*, pp. 125-126.

<sup>2</sup> Below, p. 179 *sq.*

<sup>3</sup> But see also *Norman Chron.*, in *Gesta Henrici Quinti* (ed. B. Williams), p. 194; *Tit. Liv.*, p. 76.

<sup>4</sup> Below, p. 177.

<sup>5</sup> *Tit. Liv.*, p. 75.

<sup>6</sup> *Mémoires* (ed. L. M. E. Dupont), p. 104 *sq.*

<sup>7</sup> See L. Puiseux, *L'Émigration Normande . . . au XVe siècle* (1866), p. 56, n. 2.

<sup>8</sup> *E.g.* *D.K.R.*, xli., 714, 716; Puiseux, *op. cit.*, pp. 53-58; G. Lefèvre Pontalis, *La Guerre de Partisans dans la Haute Normandie (1414-29)*, in *Bibl. Ecole des Chartes*, lvii.

<sup>9</sup> Below p. 184.

<sup>10</sup> *Eng. Hist. Lit.*, p. 290.

<sup>11</sup> *Vita*, pp. 300 *sqq.*

<sup>12</sup> Below, p. 156 *sq.* The account in *Wals.*, ii., 314 *sq.*, is of interest.

the night and the plundering of the French dead and the casting of their bodies into the sea are all points which do not occur elsewhere.

In addition to the above there is much useful information scattered throughout the chronicle of which the following is perhaps the most important: the details concerning the hall in which the Leicester Parliament of 1414 was held (p. 147), Oldcastle's presence near Shrewsbury and Oswestry previous to his capture (p. 148), the name of the town in which he was taken and the detailed description of his place of execution (pp. 148, 149), the statement that the garrison of Harfleur in 1416 was reduced to the killing and eating of horses (p. 158), the *regales epipaciones* exchanged by Henry and Sigismund (p. 155), the exact date of the foundation of Kenilworth Priory (p. 160), and the account of the gun sent to the siege of Melun by the Londoners at their own expense together with its devastating effects (p. 183). It has been more convenient to deal with the additions to our knowledge of the siege of Rouen elsewhere,<sup>1</sup> but we may note here that his estimate of the losses of the city through famine appears to be a moderate one; the figures given by other writers vary considerably.<sup>2</sup>

The interesting stories which particularly characterise Strecche's narrative may be dealt with here together. It is indeed refreshing to find one chronicler whose account is concerned to a comparatively large extent with the more colourful incidents connected with the royal person and individual members of his following. The stories of the *John of Rye* and the siege of Pont de l'Arche<sup>3</sup> are typical examples. A much shorter version of the former is given by the chronicler of St. Denys with one addition,<sup>4</sup> but of the latter the activities of Umfraville and the story of the noisy rustics occur only in Strecche. The remaining portion, the royal plan for crossing the Seine and the Cornwall-Graville wager, is in its broad outline similar to the accounts of Livio<sup>5</sup> and Monstrelet,<sup>6</sup> with certain omissions and differences in detail. Two other parallel incidents peculiar to Strecche afford further examples, namely, the narrow escape of Clarence before Bec Hellouin, and the similar good fortune of the King before Louviers.<sup>7</sup> Strecche adds that

<sup>1</sup> *V. sup.*, p. 141.    <sup>2</sup> Below, p. 176.    <sup>3</sup> Below, pp. 158, 163 *sqq.*

<sup>4</sup> *St. Denys* (ed. L. Bellaguet), vi., 12-13. His account is quoted in full below (p. 158).    <sup>5</sup> *Tit. Liv.*, p. 59.

<sup>6</sup> *Monstr.* (ed. L. Douët D'Arceq), iii., 275 *sqq.*

<sup>7</sup> Below, pp. 162, 163.



one of the nine gunners of the latter town, condemned to death by Henry in revenge, was saved by the intercession of "a certain cardinal" (Orsini). Orsini's presence at the siege is confirmed by Livio,<sup>1</sup> the Pseudo-Elmham<sup>2</sup> and St. Denys,<sup>3</sup> but no other reference occurs to the King's escape. Livio, who mentions the punishment of the gunners, states that they were crucified because of the damage they had done among the besiegers.<sup>4</sup> Fifthly, we may note the short story relating the blindness which afflicted those of Oldcastle's followers who annointed their eyes with his ashes.<sup>5</sup> We possess no other information concerning this, but, together with the sarcasm adopted towards the heretic's hope of rising again on the third day, it serves to bring out Strecche's strong anti-Lollardism. The account of Oldcastle's death resembles that in other narratives<sup>6</sup> save that he addresses the speech foretelling his resurrection not to Sir Thomas Erpingham but to Bedford.

The story for which Strecche is perhaps best known is that of the sending of the tennis-balls.<sup>7</sup> Numerous arguments have been advanced to prove or disprove the actual occurrence of this incident,<sup>8</sup> but the question still remains open. Strecche, our main authority, is supported not only by Elmham,<sup>9</sup> but also by the statement of another contemporary that the balls were sent to Kenilworth in Lent, 1414.<sup>10</sup> The latter, combined with the fact that the account below, that of a canon of Kenilworth, is the best we possess, might seem to give the story the stamp of truth. On the other hand, it is strange that Elmham should omit any reference to the tennis-balls in his prose life, particularly as he states in the preface to the *Liber Metricus*<sup>11</sup> that although his verses do not contain everything to be found in his prose work they treat of the more important matters. Secondly, the French

<sup>1</sup> *Tit. Liv.*, p. 58.

<sup>2</sup> *Vita*, p. 169.

<sup>3</sup> *St. Denys*, vi., 250. See also *Rym.*, ix., 558.

<sup>4</sup> *Tit. Liv.*, *loc. cit.*

<sup>5</sup> Below, p. 149.

<sup>6</sup> *Cf. Wals.*, ii., 328; *Lib. Met.*, p. 159; Capg. *De Illustr.* (ed. F. C. Hingeston), p. 122.

<sup>7</sup> Below, p. 150.

<sup>8</sup> *E.g.*, O. Emmerig, *The Bataile of Agyncourt* (Nürnberg, 1907) and *Dariusbrief und Tennisballgeschichte in Englische Studien*, xxxix.; C. L. Kingsford, *Eng. Hist. Lit.*, pp. 41, 239, and *The First English Life*, pp. xliii.-xlv.; J. H. Wylie, *Henry V.*, i., 425-430.

<sup>9</sup> *Lib. Met.*, p. 101.

<sup>10</sup> *Duo Rerum Anglicarum Scriptores* (ed. T. Hearne, 1732), p. 274.

<sup>11</sup> *Lib. Met.*, p. 79.

chroniclers omit all mention of the incident.<sup>1</sup> The credibility of the story depends essentially neither on its omission by some writers nor on its multiplication by others, as, for example, after Agincourt,<sup>2</sup> but on the pedigree of those narratives in which it is contained. No definite statement can be made with safety until further information concerning Elmham and the chronicler known as Otterbourne is forthcoming. If additional light on these two should cast the burden on Strecche alone one's suspicions might well be aroused, for throughout the account below it is patent that the writer had too great a tendency to favour the more popular type of story in which oral tradition was interested; even the addition of the *pulvinaria mollia*<sup>3</sup> may be a product of that minor inaccuracy and exaggeration which always accompanies 'common talk'. May there not be a closer connection between these three writers than has previously been suspected?

ADD. MS. 35295, f. 265.

['a' indicates insertions above the line and enclosure in square brackets omission from the MS.] The spelling and Latinity of the text are retained.

Incipit vita et actus nobilissimi Henrici regis Anglorum Henrici quinti, de eius<sup>a</sup> eciam coronacione et bellis et conquestu eiusdem in Normannia et in Francia quomodo se habuit, ut in sequentibus patebit legentibus.

[c<sup>m</sup> j<sup>m</sup>.] Henrico rege iii<sup>j</sup><sup>to</sup> ut premittitur mortuo et apud Canturiam<sup>4</sup> cum honore tumultato in ecclesiam Christi in monasterio monachorum, Henricus V<sup>tus</sup> eius filius primogenitus, Wallorum princeps, ix die Aprilis Dominica in passione in regem est erectus et a Thoma Arundel, tunc Cantuar' archiepiscopo, oleo unctus erat et in regem Anglie coronatus, presentibus tunc tocius Anglie dominis et magnatibus, episcopis, multis abbatibus et prioribus nonnullis, anno incarnationis donini m<sup>mo</sup>cccc<sup>mo</sup>xij.<sup>mo</sup> Verumtamen in die coronacionis Henrici regis V<sup>ti</sup> et per duos dies continue sequentes nix cum grandine ita

<sup>1</sup> Dr. Emmerig considers this the most important point in his argument against the story.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Wylie, *op. cit.*, i., 428-430.

<sup>3</sup> Note the passage in the *Vita* in which it is stated that at his coronation banquet and for three days afterwards Henry ate no food 'nec mollia pulvinaria noctu premens artus regios nocturna quiete refecit' (p. 24).

<sup>4</sup> Sic in MS. for 'Cantuarium.'

cecidit et copia tanta pluviarum quanta vel qualis a diebus Ley<sup>er</sup>,<sup>1</sup> quondam regis Britonum qui Leyercestriam condidit, usque in illum diem in regum coronacionibus nullatinus fuit visa. | (f. 265v.) Hic rex Henricus V<sup>tus</sup> stature fuit competentis et elegantis forme, miles multum nobilis, in armis valde strenuus, rex sapiens in regendo, voce pressa verba promens, multum providus in rebus bellicis disponendis, sagax et circumspectus, alter Hector in conquestu, inpaciens quietis, acer, audax in bello, nunquam victus. Is rex, anno primo regni sui, apud Leyercestriam, quasi in medio ville iuxta Fratres minores, novam magnam fecit aulam,<sup>2</sup> xl virgarum in longitudine et in latitude<sup>3</sup> pedum quadraginta, et in xxiiij<sup>or</sup> diebus illam plene perfecit, cooperuit et in omnibus consummavit. In qua aula suum primum tenuit parliamentum<sup>4</sup> ubi ante hoc parliamentum non legimus fuisse. In quo parlamento rex Henricus dominum Iohannem fratrem suum ducem fecit Bedeford' et dominum Unfridum<sup>5</sup> alterum fratrem suum ducem fecit Gloucestrie et dominum Ricardum, fratrem Edwardi ducis Eboris, comitem fecit Cantebriggie. Et in<sup>a</sup> illo parlamento multa alia secretius fuerant proposita que postea patuerunt. Et eodem anno Ricardum regem, apud Langeley sepultum, rex Henricus iussit exhumari et corpus eius cum debita reverencia ad Westmonasterium deduci fecit et in tumba quam ipsemet rex Ricardus sibi fecerat et Anne regine, uxori sue,<sup>6</sup> rex precepit collocari. Qui in pace quiescat sempiterna Amen.

cm ij[m]. Eodem anno rex Henricus quintus Henricum,<sup>7</sup> filium Henrici Perci et heredem comitis Northumbr', tunc in Scotia exulem, in Angliam revocavit et ad gratiam recepit et comitis honorem cum suo patrimonio eidem restituit et sibi sua funditus dedit et restauravit.<sup>8</sup> Et eciam anno primo regis Henrici V<sup>ti</sup> in villa que Merston' nuncupatur,

<sup>1</sup> Lear. The connection traced below is obviously due to the similarity of the names. See *Rutland Notes and Queries*, i., pp. 5 sqq.; J. Thompson, *Hist. of Leicester* (1849), p. 448 sq.

<sup>2</sup> 'En une grande Sale pres l'Eglise et la Mansion des Frieres Menours à Leycestr. et de novell ordeignée par le Roy pur celle cause' (*Rot. Parl.*, iv., 15.) <sup>3</sup> Sic in MS.

<sup>4</sup> The session opened on 30 April, 1414 (*Ibid.*).

<sup>5</sup> Humphrey.

<sup>6</sup> *Add. MS.* 35295, ff. 260, 261v. Anne of Bohemia, Richard II's first queen, had been buried in the same tomb on 3 Aug., 1394 (A. Strickland, *Lives of the Queens*, Rev. Edn., i., 426).

<sup>7</sup> Henry Percy, 2nd Earl, son of 'Hotspur.'

<sup>8</sup> See *D.N.B.*, xlii., 405; *Rot. Parl.*, iv., 37, 71.

in comitatu Warwýchie, circa festum omni sanctorum<sup>1</sup> in ortulo cuiusdam matrisfamilias corvus in quadam piro nidificavit, ova posuit et pullos tres produxit et ad volandi quasi maturitatem pavit. Set ex ipsis pullis suis corvus pullum unum ex nido expulit et ad radicem arboris in qua corvus pullos educaverat eiectum pullum rostro corvus rosit, occidit, et exenteravit. Quod multi contemplantes pronosticum indicarunt. Verumtamen in festo nativitatis domini<sup>2</sup> proximo sequece lollardi, London' commorantes et alibi in Anglia existentes, in mortem Henrici regis V<sup>ti</sup> proditorie conspirarunt in tantum quod magna illorum multitudo clam in parco de Harensey<sup>3</sup> iuxta London' hostiliter fuerat congregata ut insurgerent in Henricum regem ut eum eorum proposito voluntatis haberent inclinatum, in enervacionem ecclesiastice dignitatis et fidei lesionem. Quorum prodicione propalata et regi nostro cognita, rex noster in manu forti bellicosa mox cum suis intravit campum sub noctis silencio Lond' iuxta hospitale sancti Iohannis Baptiste et istos proditores, undecumque per phalangas advenientes, priusquam possent convenire, rex cepit in diluculo et illos stravit, trucidavit, dispersit et fugavit. Unde timor ingens irruit in lollardos et regem nostrum nominarunt principem presbiterorum. Tunc confestim eodem anno rex Henricus V<sup>tus</sup> per totum regnum suum Anglie armata manu equitavit, dictos proditores, in villis et civitatibus | (f. 266) regni sui in speluncis, cavernis et domibus secrecius latitantes, cepit et multavit et multos huius secte punivit et vinculis mancipavit. Quo audito, dominus de Cobham, dominus Iohannes Holdcastel,<sup>4</sup> fautor fortissimus lollardorum et regis proditor, ad partes fugit Wallicorum iuxta Solopiam et Oswaldestre',<sup>5</sup> in illis partibus aliquamdiu clanculo latitando, immemor versuum eius prophecie : Quetus<sup>6</sup> ocastrum tua fama volat super astrum. Non tis falcastrum succidet aron'<sup>7</sup> oliastrum.<sup>8</sup> Tandem, deo disponente, anno iiii<sup>to</sup><sup>9</sup> Henrici regis V<sup>ti</sup> dictus Iohannes Holdcastel per quosdam probos patrie predictae captus erat in villa Walshepole<sup>10</sup> nuncupata et

<sup>1</sup> 1 Nov.<sup>2</sup> 25 Dec.<sup>3</sup> Harringay.<sup>4</sup> Sir John Oldcastle, Lord Cobham.<sup>5</sup> Shrewsbury, Oswestry.<sup>6</sup> Sic in MS. I cannot pretend to elucidate this couplet.<sup>7</sup> ? Aaron.<sup>8</sup> Margin : 'versus.'<sup>9</sup> Incorrect. He was taken in Nov., 1417, 'Anno V' (E.H.R., xx., 655).<sup>10</sup> Welshpool in Montgomeryshire. See also J. E. Tyler, *Henry of Monmouth*, ii., 390 note h; *Arch. Camb.*, Ser. I, i., 47; H. Ellis, *Orig. Lett.*, 2nd Ser., i., 87 (where the names of his captors are given); *Montgomeryshire Collect.*, i., 290 sq.

London' ductus fuit et coram domino Iohanne duce Bedeford', locum tenente Henrici regis V<sup>ti</sup> in Anglia, ut proditor et lollardus ad mortem fuit iudicatus. Et ex precepto domini regis tractus erat et suspensus traditor antedictus et, pendens in patibulo, in cineres fuerat concrematus. Set hic nequitiam antequam furcas ascenderet domino duci Bedford' dixit et palam eciam omni populo circumstanti: Si post tres dies resurexero credatis salvus ero. Et opiniones<sup>1</sup> mee vere sunt. Set ut audivi non dum resurrexit quia, ut existimo, in viam longam et lutosam peregrinus perrexit. Quidam tamen ante eius mortem mero motu caritatis dicto Iohanni suggesserunt ut vanas suas respueret opiniones et sacerdoti sua peccata confiteretur. Qui pertinaciter respondit: Si sanctus Petrus apostolus<sup>1</sup> hic in carne presens esset peccata mea illi non confiterer, nec a matre Christi nec ab aliquo sanctorum dei veniam peterem ut pro me orarent, quia nichil possunt.<sup>2</sup> Set omnis pravitas a deo est. Et sic fictus hereticus sine fide nusquam vitam finivit. Set post mortem ipsius quidam discipulorum eius ad locum combustionis eius secretius accesserunt, martiris fetidi sperantes resurrectionem.<sup>3</sup> Et cineres eius ibi invenerunt in loco uno, cum quibus discipuli eius oculos suos linierunt. Et in signum fecte sanctitatis tanti martiris, oculorum lumen eius discipuli penitus amiserunt. Et sic qui perprius videntes venerant pro martiris amore postmodum ceci domum redierant cum gemitu et dolore. Hec facta sunt in campo veteri trans capellam illegitimam iuxta furcas Tyburnie in Londoniis xvj kalendas Julii<sup>4</sup> anno domini m<sup>o</sup> cccc<sup>o</sup> xvij<sup>o</sup> et regis Henrici V<sup>ti</sup> iijj<sup>to</sup>. Unde versus. Vide inferius.

versus { Dum comburetur vetus castellum cadet alte  
Aula poli, periet machina tota soli.<sup>5</sup>

[c<sup>m</sup> iij<sup>m</sup>.] Hic rex Henricus, nobilitate conspicuus, anno regni sui secundo, quosdam solempnes nuncios in Franciam misit, scilicet unum episcopum, doctores duos et duos eciam milites cum eorum congruo apparatu,<sup>6</sup> qui cum rege Francorum<sup>7</sup> eius consilio colloquium haberent

<sup>1</sup> Sic in MS.

<sup>2</sup> *V. sup.*, p. 145.

<sup>3</sup> 'resurexiōē,' MS.

<sup>4</sup> Incorrect. The events narrated took place in Dec., 1417 ('Anno V') (*E.H.R.*, xx., 655 sq.; *Rot. Parl.*, iv., 107 sq.).

<sup>5</sup> In the MS. these verses are at the foot of the page. They also occur very faintly in the margin at the end of Chapter 2.

<sup>6</sup> Incorrect. The embassy of May, 1414, to which Strecche is referring consisted of Bishops Langeley and Courtenay, the Earl of Salisbury, Richard, Lord Grey of Codnor, John Pelham, Robt. Waterton and Henry Ware (*Rym.*, ix., 132).

<sup>7</sup> Supply 'et.'



pro matrimonio inter Henricum regem Anglie et nobilem dominam Katerinam, regis Francorum filiam, solempniter celebrando. Set isti regis Anglorum ambassiatores brevi habita cum Francigenis in hac parte communicacione absque fine congruo honore vel comodo ad regem nostrum in | (f. 266 v.) Angliam reuenerunt. Verumtamen<sup>1</sup> isti Gallici, superbia excecati, nociva non preuidentes, nunciis regis Anglorum verba fellis eructantes, eisdem indiscrete predixerunt quod Henrico regi Anglorum, quia iuuenis erat, mitterent paruas pilas ad ludendum et pulvinaria mollia ad cubandum quousque in virile robur creverit in futuro. Quibus verbis auditis rex commotus fuerat in spiritu nimium perturbatus, sub verbis tamen brevibus, discretis et honestis circumstantibus ita est exorsus : Si deus voluerit et vitam habuero cum salute, infra paucos menses cum pilis talibus ludam cum Francigenis in plateis eorum quod iocum perdent in eventu et pro ludo luctum lucrabuntur. Et si super sua pulvinaria nimis diu dormiverint in cubili suo, ego forte, antequam vellent, in aurora hostia pulsans a sompno illos exitabo.<sup>2</sup>

cm iv<sup>[m]</sup>. Post hec rex Henricus V<sup>tus</sup> apud castellum de Wyndesore et alibi in Anglia per singula castella arma bellica perscrutari fecit et purgari, et de novo loricas, galias, scuta, thoraces, clipios, capita lancearum, cirotecas, laminatas, gladios, arcus, sagittarum multa milia et universa armorum genera invasiva et defensiva ad bellum apta rex fieri fecit et iugiter iussit fabricari. Et nervos arcuum doliis plenis rex fecit congragari<sup>3</sup> una cum infinitis securibus, sarris et cuneis pro silvis prosternendis et lignis secandis et findendis. Malleos ferreos et ligones, vangas, tribulos et fossoria cum aliis ferreis instrumentis pro muris civitatum et spicibus subterraneis secrecius subfodendis et destruendis in ingenio suo mirabili rex disposuit et sagaciter ordinavit. Deinde ad turrim London' artifices ingenii conspicuos rex cito convocavit<sup>4</sup> qui machinas multas et bellica instrumenta fortiter fabricarent ad nocendum, cum falaricis fortibus, lepides<sup>5</sup> magnos horibili turbine eructantibus, in igni pelasgo crepitanti cuncta tacta consument sine mora vel misericordia in cineres frigidos et favillas. Et postquam hec omnia facta fuerant et disposita, rex ad naves suas ea<sup>a</sup> iussit provehi et portari universa. Et

<sup>1</sup> For the tennis-ball story *v. sup.*, p. 145 *sq.*

<sup>2</sup> Sic in MS.

<sup>3</sup> Sic in MS. They were stored in Pountney's Inn (Wylie, *Henry V.*, i., 160).

<sup>4</sup> E.g. *Cal. Pat. Rolls (1413-1416)*, pp. 30, 177.

<sup>5</sup> Sic in MS. Read 'lapides.'

aptato tempore capto, scilicet primo die mensis Augusti in festo sancti Petri quod dicitur ad Vincula, rex exercitum fortem gentis sue congregavit et per acies bellicas armatos cum sagittariis convenienter rex disposuit et ordinavit. Et in campo iuxta Portesmouthe in parte australi Anglie suos omnes censuit et monstravit et ccc<sup>is</sup> navibus<sup>1</sup> in dicto portu cum armis, equis et victualibus et cunctis necessariis aliis onustis et repletis, anchoris illatis, erectis velis si ventus flaverit, ad navigandum proutis et paratis. Et rex in illas cum exercitu<sup>2</sup> suo universo mox intrare cum effectu proposuit et se paravit. Set pro dolor, ira vel livor edax qui plures perdit quosdam coegit dominos in mortem regis Henrici V<sup>ti</sup> clamdestine conspirare, videlicet dominum Ricardum comitem Cantebrigg', fratrem Edwardi ducis Eboraci, dominum Henricum Scrob<sup>3</sup> et dominum Thomam Grey.<sup>4</sup> Cumque nephas illud rex per comitem de Marchia<sup>5</sup> cognovisset, hos tres optimates, mox ad mortem | (f. 267) iudicatos, celerius iussit decolari. Quibus mortuis et sepultis priorem propositum non post ponens portum de Portsmouth' cum suo exercitu rex intravit et in<sup>a</sup> nomine Ihesu nostri salvatoris, vento flante, erectis velis, versus neutriam<sup>6</sup> in grandi classe navium ccc<sup>arum</sup><sup>7</sup> maria sulcavit. Et die xiii<sup>o</sup> mensis Augusti<sup>8</sup> in festo assumptionis virginis gloriose sole in virginem vergente, cum suis omnibus salvis atque sanis ad Kydicaus<sup>9</sup> in Normannia non longe a villa de Harflet<sup>10</sup> rex noster feliciter est appulsus, ubi eius naves, proiectis anchoris in profundum, tutissime collocavit. Et falaricas suas fortissimas cum aliis bellicis instrumentis, armis aptis et ad guerram necessariis ad terram traxit, duxit et provexit et ad obsidionem ville de Harflet rex cum suis ducibus,

<sup>1</sup> Nicholas places the entire fleet at about 1400 vessels of various kinds, 100 of which were left behind, more having been collected than were required (*Royal Navy*, ii., 409 and note c; *Battle of Aginc.*, p. 49). 'At least 1500 vessels' (Wylie, *op. cit.*, ii., i.).

<sup>2</sup> Sic in MS.

<sup>3</sup> Henry Lord Scrope of Masham.

<sup>4</sup> Sir Thomas Grey of Heton.

<sup>5</sup> Edmund, Earl of March, formerly a consenting party to the plot, confessed on the eve of the proposed assassination (31 July). He was pardoned on the grounds that his innocence had been exploited ('cujus innocentiam . . . attentassent,' *Gesta*, p. 11).

<sup>6</sup> Sic in MS. Read 'Neustriam.'

<sup>7</sup> *V. sup.* note 1.

<sup>8</sup> The assumption of the Virgin is 15 Aug. Henry arrived at Chef de Caux on Tuesday, 13 Aug., 1415 (Wylie, *op. cit.*, ii., 7). 14th in *Lib. Met.*, p. 106.

<sup>9</sup> Chef de Caux.

<sup>10</sup> Harfleur.

dominis et militibus et alio exercitu universo leto corde properavit. Quibus Christus conferat auxilium Amen.

<sup>cm</sup> v<sup>[m]</sup>. *Hic de prima obsidione de Harflu per regem Henricum quintum.* Rex Henricus V<sup>us</sup>, regum omnium nobilissimus, cum suo exercitu excellenti ducum, comitum, baronum, militum et aliorum generosorum plurimorum, erectis tentoriis, villam de Harflet iij<sup>o</sup> anno regni sui ex omni parte per mare et terram circumdedit et fortiter obsedit et in iactu gravi falaricarum ville muros et ipsam villam nimium oppressit et contrivit. Set antequam villa regi nostro fuerat reddita, multa milia de regis exercitu morbo gravi fuerant vexata et fluxu multi perierunt<sup>1</sup> qui se male gubernarunt uvas crudas et varios fructus indiscrete comedendo. Nam dominus dux Clarencie, morbo gravi tunc vexatus, ab illa obsidione in Angliam transfretavit et episcopus Northwýcensis, dominus Ricardus Courtney, ibidem spiritum exalavit et London' apud Sanctum Paulum sepulture datur.<sup>2</sup> Et vulgus reliquum, variis langoribus ibi nece stratum, in quadam abathia a villa de Harflet non longe<sup>3</sup> sita fuerat humatum. Rex Henricus cum sua nobili probitate infra quadraginta dies dictam villam expugnavit et in manu forti cepit et in festo sanctorum martirum Maurici' exuperata<sup>4</sup> est. Dominus de Tuteville,<sup>5</sup> ville de Harflu capitaneus, illam Henrico regi sursum reddidit cum omnibus bonis eius et ex licencia regis in Franciam perrexit. Cuius ville custodiam domino Thome duci Excestr' rex commisit gubernandam. Qui dux postea gesta militaria valde laude digna in partibus illis plurima peregit quibus stigma militare multociens decoravit, ut in sequentibus clarius declarabo.

<sup>cm</sup> vj<sup>[m]</sup>. *De Bello de Achencourt in Pachidia.*<sup>6</sup> Obsidione ville de Harflu facta et finita rex Henricus, protinus post festum sancti

<sup>1</sup> This point is mentioned by nearly all the chroniclers. Walsingham has the best account (*Hist. Angl.*, ii., 309).

<sup>2</sup> Courtenay, who died on 15 Sept., was buried behind the high altar in Westminster Abbey, near the Confessor's shrine, not in St Paul's (*Gesta*, pp. 26-27; *D.N.B.*, xii., 342).

<sup>3</sup> The feast of St. Maurice and his companions, 22 Sept.

<sup>4</sup> 'exuperii,' MS.

<sup>5</sup> Charles, Sire d'Estouteville. On the surrender of the town he was allowed his parole on condition that he delivered himself up at Calais by Martinmas (*St. Denys*, v., 544). He was later imprisoned in Conway Castle (*Cal. Pat. Rolls (1416-1422)*, p. 137) and was in England as late as 1422. See also F. Devon, *Issues of the Exch.*, p. 356.

<sup>6</sup> *Sic* in MS. Picardy.

Michalis<sup>1</sup> proposuit a villa de Harflu ad Calisius per terram peragraré et, assumpto exercitu suo, vix octo millibus pugnatorum<sup>2</sup> per Normanniam | (f 267v.) versus Calisiam equitavit. Per flumina, tamen, aquas, rivos et pontes fractos rex in suo itinere multum fuit impeditus ita quod viam proximiorē, rectam et aptatam pergere nequivit. Tunc xxv<sup>o</sup> die mensis Octobris, in festo sanctorum martirum Crispini et Crispiniani, quando rex cum exercitu suo aquam de swerdes<sup>3</sup> nunccupatam<sup>4</sup> preterisset non longe ab Achencourt in Picardia flos milicie tocius Francie, scilicet ducum, comitum et baronum cum centum millibus pugnancium<sup>5</sup> armatorum contra Henricum regem et suum parvum exercitum hostiliter illo die convenerunt ad bellandum. Cum quibus omnibus, favente altissimo et adiuvante sancto martire Georgio, rex Henricus, suis sagaciter dispositis aciebus, cum hostibus suis viriliter dimicavit et super Francigenos universos campum recuperavit, multis milibus de valencioribus gentis Francorum qui in<sup>a</sup> prima acie belli fuerunt startis,<sup>6</sup> captis et interfectis, inter quos dux Aureliensis, dux Burbonensis,<sup>7</sup> dux Launsuni<sup>8</sup> et alii multi magnates et generosi in illo bello capti fuerant et redempti, aliis pluribus fuga lapsis, dispersis et confusis. Et sic finis fuit huius belli unde quidam metrice sic cecinit : Harflet<sup>9</sup> fert Mauric, Agencort fert prelia Crispin. Hic rex Henricus quintus terno notat anno.<sup>10</sup> Hoc est dicere, anno domini m<sup>o</sup>cccc<sup>o</sup>xxvj<sup>o</sup><sup>11</sup> et anio<sup>12</sup> regni regis Henrici Vti iij<sup>o</sup> capta fuit villa de Harflet et bellum fuit apud Achencort in Picardia in festo sanctorum Crispini et Crispiniani et in festo sancti Mauricii capta fuit Harflet. Verumtamen in hoc bello dei gratia ex parte Henrici regis Anglie perpauca ceciderunt. Dominus Edwardus dux Eboris illo die cecidit ex parte regis nostri

<sup>1</sup> 29 Sept.

<sup>2</sup> Estimations range from 4000 to 26,000. The *Gesta*, with 6000 is probably the most reliable (p. 57).

<sup>3</sup> R. Ternoise.

<sup>4</sup> Sic in MS.

<sup>5</sup> An exaggeration. Cf. Wylie, *op. cit.*, ii., 142; Nicholas, *Battle of Aginc.*, p. 109.

<sup>6</sup> Sic in MS. Read 'stratis.'

<sup>7</sup> The Dukes of Orleans and Bourbon, who were captured.

<sup>8</sup> John, Duke of Alençon, who was killed.

<sup>9</sup> Margin: 'versus' (bis).

<sup>10</sup> *Lib. Met.*, p. 124; *Brut* (ed. F. W. D. Brie), ii., 598; *Usk* (ed. E. M. Thompson), p. 129; *Bermondsey Annals in Annales Monastici* (ed. H. R. Luard), iii., 484. "They were clearly common property" (*Eng. Hist. Lit.*, p. 50).

<sup>11</sup> Recte 1415.

<sup>12</sup> Sic in MS. Read 'anno.'

cum duobus aliis militibus ordine militari noviter insignitis.<sup>1</sup> Et sic divina gratia bello fundato rex Henricus, omnibus inimicis suis victis et iunctis, cum triumpho Calusius pervenit ubi se et suos refosillavit, lesos fovit et curavit et inibi per certum tempus expectavit. Et circa festum sancti Nocholai<sup>2</sup> rex inde in Angliam transfretavit et apud Sonwȳcum<sup>3</sup> rex applicuit, secum ducens duces Francie antedictos et multos alios captos et captivos. Verumtamen huius regni plures domini tam spirituales quam temporales adventum regis ad ripam maris iugiter observabant et cum illo ad civitatem London' equitarunt. In qua civitate solempniter receptus erat cum ingenti apparatu<sup>4</sup> magna reverencia, in muneribus et honore et ad Westmonasterium rex inde<sup>a</sup> cito equitavit. Et festum nativitatis domini illo anno apud Kenyngton'<sup>5</sup> rex tenuit et solempniter celebravit ad laudem domini Ihesu Christi.

c<sup>m</sup> vij<sup>[m]</sup>. *De parliamento Leyerc'*. Rex Henricus V<sup>tus</sup> in fine iij anni regni sui, post festum purificationis beate Marie,<sup>6</sup> apud Leyrcestriam<sup>7</sup> magnum tenuit parliamentum in quo a clero et a regnicolis ad sui expeditionem magnum exegit subsidium. A clero namque exegit et habuit unam decimam et dimidiam,<sup>8</sup> a populo vero terre unam quintamdecimam et dimidiam.<sup>9</sup> Et anno iiij<sup>to</sup> regni regis Henrici V<sup>ti</sup> incipiente, post festum sancti Georgii,<sup>10</sup> Sigismundus imperator, rex Romanorum et rex Boemie<sup>11</sup> et | (f. 268) Ungarie, et cetera, in solempni apparatu venit in Angliam ad visitandum et videndum Henricum regem Anglie et ob nullam causam<sup>12</sup> nisi ad ipsius imperatoris recreationem pro tempore et regis Henrici consolacionem et ad videndam

<sup>1</sup> Also mentioned in *Gesta*, p. 58; *Hardyng* (ed. H. Ellis, 1812), p. 375. Mr. Williams suggests David Gamme and his brother (*Gesta*, p. 58, n. 3) and Dr. Wylie Sir Richard Kyghley and David Gamme (*Henry V*, ii., 183, n. 4).

<sup>2</sup> *Sic* in MS. 13 Nov.

<sup>3</sup> Sandwich. *Recte* Dover.

<sup>5</sup> *Recte* Lambeth.

<sup>4</sup> Supply 'et.'

<sup>6</sup> 2 Feb.

<sup>7</sup> Incorrect. The Parliament to which Strecche is referring, that of 16 March, 1416, was held at Westminster. (*Rot. Parl.*, iv., 70.)

<sup>8</sup> The Convocation of 1 April, 1416, advanced a former grant making it payable at Midsummer instead of Martinmas (*Concilia*, iii., 377).

<sup>9</sup> The late Parliament had granted a tenth and a fifteenth, payable at Martinmas. At Henry's express request the present Parliament anticipated this, making the grant payable at Whitsuntide (*Rot. Parl.*, iv., 71).

<sup>10</sup> 23 April.

<sup>11</sup> Bohemia.

<sup>12</sup> The main object of Sigismund's visit was to reconcile England and France in the interests of the Council of Constance.



regni huius nobilitatem et ad videndam devocionem et cleri honestatem<sup>1</sup> in ecclesia dei. Qui nobilis imperator a rege nostro receptus erat cum maxima reverencia et honore et in omnium Anglie optimatum comitiva ad London' conductus cum magna solempnitate. Et dictus imperator in palacio regis Henrici fuerat London' cum omnibus suis militibus et servientibus plusquam per tres menses in expensis semper Henrici regis Anglorum.<sup>2</sup> Et tandem, post nobilissimas regales epipaciones<sup>3</sup> et nobilia dona regali munificencia alternatim collata, circa festum nativitatis beate Marie virginis,<sup>4</sup> nobilis hic imperator apud Doveriam mare cepit et ab Anglia discescit.<sup>5</sup> Set tamen quando de Cantuaria versus Doveriam equitavit, post caudas equorum suorum multas proiecit sedulas sub hoc modo scriptas : Sigismundus imperator, rex Romanorum, rex Ungarie et Boemie, heres Racie<sup>6</sup> et cetera, ad stilum suum pertinenter. Vale et gaude glorioso cum triumpho, O tu et felix Anglia et benedicta, quia quasi angelica natura gloriosa laude Ihesum adoras. Hanc tibi do laudem quam recto iure mereris.<sup>7</sup> De quo imperatore quidam Anglicus metrista post hec cicinit in eius laudem hos versus qui sequuntur :

Summi iura gerens, illustrans stemate mundum,	}
Virtutis nutum ductor ubique sequens.	
Imperio mitis, pax et requies animorum,	
Tutor ovans, regius pes, iubar, umbra, sinus.	
Inde paratus ades, quo profers carmine laudes :	
Sigismunde pie ! prosperitate vale. <sup>8</sup>	

Istorum <sup>iiij</sup><sup>or</sup> versuum capitalis littera prima uniuscuiusque dictonis reddunt hoc nomen : Sigismundus imperator pius.<sup>9</sup>

<sup>1</sup> 'honestatatem,' MS. Margin : 'regnicolarum.'

<sup>2</sup> Other chroniclers comment on this, e.g. *Brut*, ii., 381, 559; *Usk*, p. 130; *Vita*, pp. 75-76; *Southern Chron.*, in *Eng. Hist. Lit.*, p. 278; *Latin Chron.*, in *E.H.R.*, xxix., 511.

<sup>3</sup> *For. Acts.*, 52 A, in Wylie, *op. cit.*, iii., 11.

<sup>4</sup> 8 Sept.

<sup>5</sup> *Sic* in MS. Margin : 'anno domini millesimo ccccvij<sup>o</sup> (*sic*).

<sup>6</sup> ? Rhaetia.

<sup>7</sup> *Lib. Met.*, p. 141; *Gesta*, p. 93; *Usk*, p. 130; Capg., *De Illust.* p. 120; Capg., *Chron.* (ed. F. C. Hingeston), p. 314 (an English translation); *Latin Chron.*, in *E.H.R.*, xxix., 510.

<sup>8</sup> Strecche is the only chronicler to quote these additional verses. They occur in the *Lib. Met.*, p. 142, under the heading 'De Laude Imperatoris per Compilatorem Huius Operis, per Literas Connexas Suorum Nominis, Conditionis et Status.'

<sup>9</sup> In the MS. this explanation is written at the side of the verses.

c<sup>m</sup> viij<sup>m</sup>. *De nobili viagio domini ducis Excestrie, capitaneus de Harflu, apud Valaunte.*<sup>1</sup> Dominus Thomas dux Excestrie, avunculus Henrici V<sup>ti</sup> et capitaneus ville de Harflit principalis per regem constitutus post bellum de Achencort, et rege per Calisiam in Angliam reverso, anno regni regis Henrici V<sup>ti</sup> iiiij<sup>o</sup> <sup>a</sup> et incarnationis dominice anno m<sup>o</sup>cccc<sup>o</sup>xvij<sup>o</sup> <sup>2</sup> mensis Marcis circa festum sancti Cutberti,<sup>3</sup> cum mille et quadringentis viris armorum et architenencium de Harflet post cenam clanculo discessit et cum suis ad villam de Valaunte, que distat de Harflet triginta miliaria, iugiter properavit et nundinas dicte ville in predam sumpsit et secum duxit in manu forti et sic villam spoliavit.<sup>4</sup> Cui domino, domum properanti capta preda sua, comes de Armanakis<sup>5</sup> cum quinquaginta milibus armatorum<sup>6</sup> non longe a villa antedicta | (f. 268 v.) hostiliter obviavit et ducem cum suis quam cito circuiuit et ut omnes se sibi redderent pomposa voce iussit sub tali tyrannica condicione, videlicet quod quilibet generosus ad plenum se redimeret et quilibet sigittarius<sup>7</sup> dextram manum perderet. Quod dominus dux grave gerens, ad hoc noluit consentire set pocius in campo mori voluit quam suos sineret sic turpiter mutulari<sup>8</sup> et hec publica voce dixit. Ex quibus verbis omnes sui confortati contra hostes suos acriter insurrexerunt et bellare ceperunt. Unde protinus ex parte domini ducis ccccti Anglicorum in quodam crofto fortuna sinistrante fuerant interfecti. Et ex parte comitis de Armanakis tria milia concito corruerunt. Et sic dei gratia dux cum suis illa vice campum recuperavit et versus Harflet iter arripuit cum suis, preda tamen sua perdita et equis suis universis. Et sic fatigati per viam tota die pedestres ambularunt, quos comes cum suo exercitu a latere semper sequebatur. Et circa horam vesperarum comes iterum in multitudine gravi super ducem repente ruit unde ex utraque parte gravis incepit pugna que usque ad noctem fuit continuata. In hoc tamen conflictu, deo protegete,<sup>9</sup> nullus ex parte ducis lesus fuerat vel interfectus, set ex parte comitis Armanaci duo milia perierunt. Tunc umbra noctis dominante pars utraque a pugna cessaverunt. In qua nocte dux cum suis habuit consilium in

<sup>1</sup> Valmont.<sup>2</sup> Recte 1416.<sup>3</sup> Sic in MS. 20 March.<sup>4</sup> V. sup., p. 143 sq.<sup>5</sup> Bernard, Count of Armagnac.<sup>6</sup> An absurd exaggeration. 5000 is probably correct (*Gesta*, p. 69; *Lib. Met.*, p. 130).<sup>7</sup> Sic in MS.<sup>8</sup> Sic in MS. Read 'mutilari.'<sup>9</sup> Sic in MS. Read 'protegente.'

quo per baronem de Caru<sup>1</sup> et dominum Iohannem Ienico<sup>2</sup> fuerat decretum quod licite possent honore salvo versus suum presidium properare quia iam per diem unum et unam noctem cibo et potu caruerunt et in labore pugne tantum fuerant fatigati. Tunc illa nocte versus Harflet dux cum suis super sabulum maris ambulavit. Quod comes dictus considerans, cum suo magno exercitu super ripam maris egra mente semper persequabatur. Et in aurora diei circa solis ortum iuxta Kydicaus duci comes tercio bellicosa manu obviavit et Anglos, in litore maris persistentes et fugere non valentes, cum balistis violenter vulneravit. Set comes tandem V milia armatorum de nobilioribus suis de clivo montis ad ducem Excestrie, in zabulo maris persistentem, ut eum cum suis interimeret, crudeliter inmisit. Qui cum superbia descendentes nutu dei firmo pedum gressu caruerunt et sic armati illi per rupes in ripam maris precipites corruerunt. Quorum lapsum Angli contemplantes securibus eos ceciderunt et eorum spolia acceperunt et eos in mari proiecerunt. Et post hec statim de ripa maris contra exercitum comitis Angli ascenderunt et cum hostibus suis ita pugnauerunt quod<sup>3</sup> ictuum sonitus ad villam de Harflu per maris comercia tonuerunt et comitem cum suis sic lorum vertere et campum deserere confestim coegerunt. Quod considerantes illi qui fuerant in villa<sup>a</sup> de<sup>a</sup> Harflet caballos ascen- | (f. 269) dentes exierunt continuo. Et dictum comitem cum suis omni nisu fugientem graviter sunt secuti et in ore gladii multa milia de suo exercitu ceperunt et occiderunt. Et tunc revertentes cum duce suo et capitaneo principali in villam de Harflu cum magna preda et triumpho omnes intraverunt, fotis lexis, omnibus refectis et refocillatis.

c<sup>m</sup> ix<sup>m</sup>. *De ij<sup>da</sup> obsidione de Harflew.* Eodem tamen anno<sup>4</sup> post hec<sup>a</sup> in continenti consilium tocus Francie celeriter ordinavit ut villa de Harflu per terram mareque obsederetur. Unde c<sup>m</sup> naves<sup>5</sup> viris armorum plenas ad dictam villam in nobili apparatu Francigene per mare provexerunt, inter quas IX fuerunt carine<sup>6</sup> magne valde

<sup>1</sup> Sir Thomas Carew.

<sup>2</sup> More correctly, Jenico D'Artas. In Leland, *Collect.*, i., 188, he is called a German, but he was probably a Gascon.

<sup>3</sup> A superfluous 'quod' deleted here.

<sup>4</sup> I.e. 1417. *Recte* 1416.

<sup>5</sup> As an estimation of the total number of ships blockading Harfleur this figure is too low. Cf. *St. Denys* (vi., 12), from which we obtain our most reliable information for this incident.

<sup>6</sup> Nine Genoese carracks and eight long galleys were sent to the help of the French under the terms of a ten years' agreement with Genoa. Spanish vessels also assisted the French (*Hardyng*, p. 377). (Below, p. 159).

fortes cum aliis vasis nobilibus ad gwrram aptis et decenter preparatis Et eciam per terram excercitum statuerunt in multitudine gravi. Et sic villam dictam fortiter obsederunt per terram et in mari. Et Francigene tam diu villam obsederunt quod inclusi pre nimia fame equos suos comederunt.<sup>1</sup> Set<sup>2</sup> die quodam altissimo disponente rex Henricus, in Anglia illo anno moram trahens et de Harflet multum cogitans, naute cuidam de Rya<sup>3</sup> talia verba dixit : Estne aliquis qui mihi posset de villa mea de Harflu rumores intimare ? Longum tempus elabitur ex quo de illa novum quid audiui. Cui nauta quidam dixit : Domine mi rex, burgensis quidam de Rya vobis nuper contulit unum vas parvum, volocissimum tamen et valde gratiosum. Et parvus Iohannes de Rya vas illud nominatur. Si hoc vas cum quinquaginta personis mihi concedere vellitis eciam frumento onustum, ego deo dante infra breve de illa villa rumores vobis reportabo, nam vas illud nuncius vester nuncupatur. Quibus auditis rex protinus vas illud dicto<sup>a</sup> naute gratis concessit et frumento onustavit. Tunc ille nauta vas illud cum quinquaginta personis fuerat ingressus et, erectis velis, ad villam de Harflet festinanter navigavit. Quo cum pervenisset et naves multas in mari circa villam invenisset cum vase suo inter rates magnas hinc inde discurrebat navigando sicut lepus inter canes,<sup>4</sup> portum ville multum optans, cum magno labore et cautela infra muros suum vas tute tandem collocavit et sic manus se persequencium gratia dei evasisit et incolas ville sic obsessos a gravi clade per sua victualia refecit et gratiose confortavit. Et villam sic intravit. Set non post multos hos dies dictus nauta in nocte quadam valde tenebrosa vas suum iterato<sup>a</sup> de portu ville cautissime deduxit et inter naves multas clanculo fugit navigando<sup>5</sup> et<sup>a</sup> sic rates omnes preterivit et in<sup>a</sup> altum pelagus vas suum deduxit. Et in despectum omnium<sup>a</sup> vas suum persequencium in vertice mali navicule sue lucernam accendit luminosam versus Angliam gaudenter proper-

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Coll. of Arms, Arundel MS. 48, f. 324v., quoted in *Gesta*, p. 86, n. 1.

<sup>2</sup> For the following story, *v. sup.*, p. 144. The passage referred to runs : 'non erubescam fateri quin, . . . per astuciam Anglorum deceptos se (the blockading fleet) senserint, cum navem eorum institoriam, armis et victualibus refertam, per medium suarum transire permiserint, quoniam crucem albam in prora, signum Francorum, ferebat; et ut viderunt se periculum evasisse, vexillum crucis rubee ipso loco erexerunt, directe tendentes et libere ad portum prenominationum' (*St. Denys*, vi. 12).

<sup>3</sup> Rye.

<sup>4</sup> Supply 'et.'

<sup>5</sup> 'navigando,' MS.

ando. Qui cum<sup>a</sup> appulsus fuerat, ad regem Anglie properavit et que facta fuerant de se et circa villam de Herflu regi reseravit. | (f. 269v.) Tunc rex Henricus cum omni festinacione possibili dominum Iohannem, fratrem suum, ducem Bedeford' et dominum Ricardum<sup>1</sup> comitem Marchie cum aliis multis ad mare misit in grandi classe, quibus iussit versus Harflet volociter navigare ad dicte ville obsidionem cicius removendam. Quo cum domini antedicti feliciter navigassent c<sup>m</sup> rates et carinas<sup>2</sup> in mari circa villam de Harflu congregatas invenerunt. Quas omnes dicti dux et comes cum nobili sua comitiva mane in aurora nebilosa<sup>3</sup> in navali bello expugnarunt, ceperunt, quassarunt et merserunt, et omnes homines in eis inventos ceperunt, merserunt et occiderunt. Et septem carinas<sup>4</sup> nobilissimas ibidem tunc ceperunt cum aliis navibus in diviciis multis. Quibus omnibus captis et expugnatis vexilla regis Anglie in illis omnibus solempniter fixerunt, cumque solis claritas nebulam abduxisset et dies clara illuxisset, ipsi qui per terram obsidionem observabant, videntes signa regis Anglie in singulis ratibus exaltata, putantes regem ibi fore, discedentes pre timore omnes, relictis rebus suis, fugam inierunt et ville obsidionem segniter dimiserunt. Et domini antedicti cum vij carinis de novo captis et aliis multis navibus in portum Hamonis<sup>5</sup> feliciter applicuerunt et suas naves in tuto collocarunt, benedictus deus.

c<sup>m</sup> x[m]. *De tumba et pictura fundatorum.* Et eodem<sup>a</sup> anno quarto Henrici regis quinti et incarnationis domini m<sup>o</sup>cccc<sup>o</sup>xvij<sup>o</sup> placuit Iohanni Mukelton',<sup>6</sup> tunc cellerario suppriori et conventui, toto quod de novo ornarent et depingerent tumbas fundatorum in domo capelari prioratus de Kenilleworda.<sup>7</sup> Set remota tumba lignea que stetit super sepulcra dictorum fundatorum, tres lapides marmorei ibi apparuerunt ex quibus medium lapidem de conventu quidam erexerunt sub quo Galfridus de

<sup>1</sup> Recte Roger.

<sup>2</sup> On Bedford's arrival the Genoese galleys, together with the Spanish ships and many balingers, withdrew. The remaining French fighting vessels numbered approximately 100 (A. Giustiniani, *Annali della Repubblica di Genova*, ii., 277).

<sup>3</sup> Sic in MS. Read 'nebulosa.'

<sup>4</sup> Accounts vary as to the number of carracks taken, but four is probably correct.

<sup>5</sup> Southampton.

<sup>6</sup> See also *Add. MS.* 35295, f. 263, where it is stated that he succeeded John Wych as cellarer at Kenilworth (temp. Prior Walter Brayles).

<sup>7</sup> Kenilworth.



Glintona<sup>1</sup> in redolenti poliandro integer quiescit. Quo viso et palpato dictum lapidem super sargosagum ut prius fuerat collocarunt. Et dictam tumbam cum ymaginibus fundatorum solempniter depinxerunt ut ibidem palam possent intueri. De quibus huius operis compiler metrice sic scripsit :

Anno milleno c<sup>m</sup> bisque decem minus uno,<sup>2</sup>  
Anglorum primus rex ens Henricus opimus,  
Tunc de Glintona Galfridus per pia dona,  
Virginis in titulum, condidit ecce locum,  
Condidit ecce locum matri Christi fore sacrum  
Atque prioratum fundaverat, hic sibi gratum  
Canonicos voluit in eo Christo famulari.

Ast illis statuit munera cara dari,<sup>3</sup>  
Munera cara dari miles statuit probitatis,<sup>4</sup>  
(f. 270). Que rex firmari monuit motu pietatis.<sup>5</sup>  
Tunc, nece preventus, celestia tiro petivit,  
Quem flens conventus cum laudibus hic sepelivit.  
Annis sic iacuit centum bis lustris duodenis,  
Set multis patuit membris sub marmore plenis  
Nobilis Henrici regis modo tempore quinti,  
Anglorum quarto recte regnantis in anno,  
Cilicio tectus non est alius sibi lectus.  
In tumba redolet sordibus atque caret,  
Sordibus ille caret ut Christo sanctificatus  
Integer ille manet in corpore non maculatus.  
Filius<sup>6</sup> atque nepos<sup>7</sup> eius sunt hic tumulati.

<sup>1</sup> Margin : 'fundator.' The Priory was built and endowed by Geoffrey de Clinton, chamberlain and treasurer of Henry I. For his life, of which little is known, see *D.N.B.*, xi, 93 sq. He is mentioned previously in the *Historia* on ff. 249, 251, 252. It is of interest to note that the verses in his honour on f. 251 also occur, in a slightly different form, on f. 26 of MS. 281 in the library of the Marquess of Salisbury at Hatfield. Art. 1 of the latter is a Latin chronicle from the Creation to 1418. The 1416-18 section is printed by Mr. Kingsford in *E.H.R.*, xxix., 510 sqq.

<sup>2</sup> I.e. 1119. It is given as 'about 1122' in *Monast.*, vi., 219, and 'before 1126' in *D.N.B.*, xi., 93.

<sup>3</sup> See *Monasticon*, vi., 220 sq.

<sup>4</sup> 'Que rex' occurs as a catchword at the foot of f. 269 v. (end of quire).

<sup>5</sup> For the "Carta regis Henrici Primi, donatorum concessionibus recitans et confirmans," see *Ibid.*, p. 223. Henry I gave the church of Stoneley to Kenilworth Priory.

<sup>6</sup> Geoffrey. He confirmed his father's donations and made numerous additions (*Ibid.*, 221, *Num.* iv.; Dugdale, *Warw.*, p. 157). He is called 'iunior filius Galfridi fundatoris' in *Add. MS.* 35295, f. 249, where it is stated that he died in Feb., 1178, and was buried 'in domo capelari de Kenill,' on his father's right hand. See also *Ibid.*, f. 252.

<sup>7</sup> Henry de Clinton. For his charter see *Monast.*, vi., 222, *Num.* v. 'Et anno octavo (*sic*) regis Henrici tertii Henricus de Glyntona . . . obiit

Christus servet eos ut celo sint venerati.  
 Hiis tribus infatis et honeste contumulatis  
 Exequiis gratis sub mortis cuspidē stratis,  
 lus patronatus clare successit eorum  
 Regibus Anglorum simul et castri dominatus.  
 Sic modo fundator rex est hic et feofator.  
 Mundi salvator nostri regis sit amator,  
 Eius protector sit proles virginis alma,  
 Et decus et rector pro pietate sua,  
 Pro pietate sua sit victor belligerorum.<sup>1</sup>  
 Iura tuendo sua rex et dux regnet eorum,  
 Non lateat te res hos cernens si bene penses.  
 Hic duo sunt patres nati duo cum nisi sint tres,  
 Vernans matris flos absolvat nunc deus illos.  
 Amen corde bono nunc roget omnis homo,  
 Hoc reget<sup>2</sup> omnis homo quod non sit eis curtiāmen<sup>3</sup>  
 Set sine fine domo Christi maneant simul Amen.  
 Et nos post mortem sanctorum sumere sortem  
 Concedat dominus qui condidit omnia solus.  
 Ipsi nunc sit honor et gloria, lausque perhennis,  
 Cuius fas et amor crescat in mente Iohannis.  
 Peccantis misere deus alme mei miserere,  
 Crimina condona multiplicaque bona Amen.

(f. 270v.) c<sup>m</sup> xj[m]. *De primo progressu regis Henrici V<sup>ti</sup> in Normanniam et de obsidione ville de Harflu.* Anno incarnationis dominice m<sup>o</sup>cccc<sup>o</sup>xvii<sup>o</sup><sup>4</sup> regni vero regis Henrici V<sup>ti</sup> quinto incipiente, mense Maii circa festum sancti Iohannis ante portam latinam,<sup>5</sup> rex Henricus naves suas preperaverat et<sup>a</sup> in portu de Portesmouth<sup>6</sup> eas in grandi classe collocaverat, omnibus eciam aliis suis necessariis promptis et paratis. Cum excellenti exercitu gentis sue versus neutriam,<sup>6</sup> erectis velis, nobiliter maria sulcavit et in brevi tempore, vento flante, rex incol[u]mis cum omnibus suis ad villam de Thok<sup>7</sup> in Normannia applicuit rex et terram intravit. Et dictam villam et eius castellum<sup>8</sup>

sine here (*sic*) ut quidam putant, iij<sup>o</sup> Kalendis Novembris et cum avo et patre suo in domo capelari canonicorum sepelitur . . . anno incarn<sup>o</sup> domini m<sup>o</sup>cc<sup>o</sup>xxv<sup>o</sup>. (*Add. MS. 35295, f. 251v.*). He was buried on the left of his grandfather (*Ibid.*, f. 252).

<sup>1</sup> 'belligerorum,' MS.

<sup>2</sup> *Sic* in MS.

<sup>3</sup> *Sic* in MS. Read 'certamen.'

<sup>4</sup> *Recte* 1417.

<sup>5</sup> 6 May.

<sup>6</sup> *Sic* in MS. Read 'Neustriam.'

<sup>7</sup> Touques. He landed on 1 Aug.

<sup>8</sup> The castle of Bonneville, one mile from Touques, referred to by most of the English chroniclers as 'Touques castle.'

cito expugnavit, cepit et sue dispositioni mancipavit et ad obsidionem ville Sancti Salvatoris<sup>1</sup> post hoc properavit, quam eciam cito cepit et sue custodie commendavit. Et ad villam de Cadamo<sup>2</sup> rex accelerans sua ibidem erexit tentoria et dictam villam undique rex obsedit. Set abathiam Sancti Stephani, prope ville muros situatam, quam rex Willelmus conquestor Anglie fundaverat et in ea tumultatur, rex primo devicit et villam postea infra breve tempus cepit rex et sue subdidit dispositioni et capitaneum<sup>3</sup> in ea una cum custodibus assignavit. Et ad obsidionem ville de Valoys<sup>4</sup> rex se et suos ordinavit, quam villam de facili non obtinuit. Set per processum tamen temporis, insultus ad eam faciens, sue tandem<sup>5</sup> rex deflexit voluntati. Medio tamen tempore ville de Valoys obsidione durante,<sup>6</sup> rex Henricus fratrem suum dominum Unfridum ducem Gloucestr' ad villam de Chirburgh<sup>6</sup> assignavit ut eam obsederet et expugnaret. Et dominum Ricardum comitem Warwiche misit cum suis rex ad castellum de Dounfront<sup>7</sup> ut illud caperet et castigaret. Et dominum Thomam ducem Clarencie, fratrem suum, cum suis ire rex constituit ad abathiam de Bekherlwynn<sup>8</sup> in Normannia et ad castellum de Harcourt, que sunt duo loca nimium fortia et ad lucrandum nociva et non longe inter se distancia, ut ea dux obsederet et manu bellica oppugnaret. Verumtamen obsidione durante circa dicta loca in die sancto pasche,<sup>9</sup> ob festi reverenciam, dominus dux Clarencie ad ecclesiam quandam parochialem prope sitam devote transsivit<sup>10</sup> ad audienda divina et sacramenta percipienda christianorum more. Quod considerans malivulus quidam<sup>a</sup> et infaustus in dicta existens abathia, dum ab ecclesia dux rediret versus sua tentoria, lapidem grandem ex falarica cum impetu emisit ad dominum ducem perimendum. Set dei gratia protegente indempnis dux evasit. Set illud opus nepharium dux ferens indigne, post illum traditorem in abathiam misit ut ad ducem graviter commotum foras mox veniret. Quem emissum coram omni populo in alto patibulo dux suspendi iussit. Post

<sup>1</sup> St. Sauveur le Vicomte, which capitulated to Gloucester on 25 March.

<sup>2</sup> Caen.

<sup>3</sup> Gilbert Umfraville.

<sup>4</sup> Falaise.

<sup>5</sup> Recte from Caen (*Gesta*, p. 122; *Norm. Chron.* in *Gesta*, p. 182; Wylie, *op. cit.*, iii. 72).

<sup>6</sup> Cherbourg.

<sup>7</sup> Domfront.

<sup>8</sup> Bec Hellouin.

<sup>9</sup> Easter Day, 1418, was 27 March. The Abbey of Bec Hellouin yielded on 4 May, 1418 (*Chronique du Bec*, ed. A. Porée, p. 86).

<sup>10</sup> Sic in MS.

hec vero infra tempus breve dictum castrum cum abathia dux cepit et Regis Anglie subdidit.<sup>1</sup> | (f. 271).

[The remaining portion of c<sup>m</sup>xj<sup>m</sup>, the whole of c<sup>m</sup>xij<sup>m</sup>, and the earlier portion of c<sup>m</sup>xiiij<sup>m</sup> are lacking.]

[c<sup>m</sup> xiiij<sup>m</sup> (contd.).] Verumtamen unum quid fortunatum tunc accidit Henrico regi nostro dicta durante obsidione.<sup>2</sup> Nam die quodam rex perrexit ad tentorium comitis sui Sarum<sup>3</sup> causa secum secrecius in certis communicandi et, dum rex in comitis tentorio confabulando staret et ad postem tentorii principalem rex capud suum declinaret, de villa quidam falaricator lapidem emisit et postem tentorii ubi rex tunc steterat, capite regis in partem flexso, in faculas dictus lapis contrivit et illa vice dei gratia indemnis rex evasit. Tunc rex deo salvatori suo gratias gratis dedit et tentorium sine tumultu ut prius erat erigi rex precepit. Qui rex post hec dicte ville insultus magnos fecit et ipsam cito expugnavit, cepit et fideli custodie mancipavit. Et rex post ville capcionem octo falaricatores suspendit in patibulo et nonum, ex rogatu cuiusdam cardinalis,<sup>4</sup> rex commisit carceri sempiterno.

c<sup>m</sup> xiiij<sup>m</sup>. *Obsidio ville de Ponte Largo.*<sup>5</sup> Laudabili villa de Loveres<sup>6</sup> ut premittitur per obsidionem capta, rex cum suo exercitu ad obsidionem ville de Pountlarge in decenti apparatu regaliter properavit. Que villa fortis est et nobiliter murata et super ripam aque de Sequana situatur in parte una et castellum eiusdem ville in altera parte predictae aque solempniter collocatur cum forti ponte mediante super aquam antedictam inter villam et castellum, ab uno gurgitis profunde mirabili arte erecto et edificato et ad gwrras apto, ita quod pippis nulla illac poterit navigare nec ullus transitus ibi valet cuiquam patere ad antedictam villam nisi per licenciam dictorum pontis et castelli. Quo cum rex Henricus pervenisset, situ loci considerato, tentoria sua fixit et ex parte castelli rex villam fortiter obsedit et eidem omni die insultus multos dedit. Et dictam villam cum eius castello infra xv dies<sup>7</sup> rex cepit et

<sup>1</sup> ? Supply 'voluntati.'

<sup>2</sup> I.e. during the siege of Louviers.

<sup>3</sup> Thos. Montagu, Earl of Salisbury.

<sup>4</sup> Cardinal Orsini, *v. sup.*, p. 145.

<sup>5</sup> Pont de l'Arche.

<sup>6</sup> Louviers.

<sup>7</sup> Incorrect. Pont de l'Arche capitulated on 20 July, 1418, after a siege of approximately 23 days (*Gesta*, p. 123; *Tit. Liv.*, p. 60). *Gesta* (*loc. cit.*) states in reference to the siege: 'post multa tractatus colloquia similiter est conclusum, quod nisi ante xv. dierum terminum per opportuna subventionis auxilia obsidionis removeretur anxietas, tam oppidum quam castellum nobilitas regia conciperet conquestum.'

expugnavit in multo tamen discrimine nobilium personarum. Nam dicta obsidione per regem facta, fixa et firmata, comes de Kýma, nomine Gilbertus de Umfervilla,<sup>1</sup> ante fores castelli maximum opus et valde forte construxit et perfecit, quod in nostra lingua Bulewerkis nominatur, quod in latina lingua sonat ut existimo opus bellicum, ubi comes antedictus cum octoginta personis audacter exspectavit et armorum eius signum super telam prope castelli portas erexit et in terram fixit ut obsessos infra castellum exire cicius provocaret. Quod considerans quidam Scoticus, stipendiarius ville, portas castelli ascendit cito, taliter vociferando in lingua anglicana: Quis ibi, quis dominus huius operis? Estne ibi aliquis generosus? Cui comes antedictus confestim respondit: Quis tu qui interrogas? Cui Scoticus ait: Si amicus fueris comitis de Kýma dicatis ei quod illud signum povonis<sup>2</sup> sue ibi fixum citra horam vesperarum in castellum istud captum erit in vestrum dedicus et gravamen cum manu bellicosa. Cui comes ita dixit: Sic fiat in nomine Patris. Et ego deum testem | (f. 271v.) invoco hic presens ego prestolabor, si fortuna dederit meum signum defendendo. Tunc, ut Scoticus predixit, circa horam vesperarum quinque milia armatorum ad castelli portam exierunt, contra quos cum suis paucis comes insurexit, sagittis illos terrebrando et aliis armis invadendo quod in castellum omnes una retrocedere penitus coegit. Tunc porta castelli pendula ad humum pressa fuit et sic ex utraque parte per cancellos portule tirones pugnaverunt, multis captis de Francigenis, aliis stratis et interfectis. Comes vero cum victoria tandem rediit ad locum suum ubi prius fuerat, invitis emulis suis, et humum suam ad placitum post hoc conservabat in tuicione militari.

c<sup>m</sup> xv[m]. *De clamore rusticorum.* Durante namque obsidione dicte ville<sup>a</sup> de Ponte Largo multitudo rusticorum de patria<sup>3</sup> in numero copioso ad alteram partem aque de Sequana omni nocte contra Anglos tumultu horribili conclamarunt ut Anglici domum irent et regem et exercitum multum infestarunt. Quo tumultu rex, graviter commotus, nuncium misit dominum Iohannem de Cornubia,<sup>4</sup> nobilem suum militem, ad castelli castellanum. Quo cum regis eques pervenisset, ad portam

<sup>1</sup> Gilbert Umfraville, Earl of Kyme.

<sup>2</sup> Sic in MS.

<sup>3</sup> They were under the command of the Lord of Chastellux. (H. P. C. Chestellux, *Histoire généalogique de la Maison de Chastellux*, p. 83.) Wylie, *op. cit.*, iii., 116.

<sup>4</sup> Sir John Cornwall.



pulsans clamitavit, cui primo<sup>a</sup> quidam baro, dominus Iohannes de Grevilla,<sup>1</sup> pulsanti sic respondit :<sup>2</sup> Quis es tu et quem queris ? Cui miles : Ego nuncius regis Anglie, missus ad vestrum<sup>a</sup> castellanum cui rex noster misit et<sup>a</sup> mandavit ut illos rusticos tota nocte conclamantes et exercitum suum sic inquietantes celerius compesceret et castigaret. Et vos ipsi, si honorem affectetis, armata manu sine tumultu et clamore in campum equitetis ubi simul experiemur quis sit dedecoris sine laude dignus in conflictu militari et non in rusticorum tumultu et clamore. Cui dominus de Grevilla ita est locutus : Non est nobis posse hos villanos ut tacerent de facili cohibere, ideo, domine, recedatis et noli nos vexare. Cui Iohannes de Cornubia tale responsum dedit : Iam palam concipio quod hii rustici vobis quodommodo<sup>3</sup> dominantur, cum illos non audetis castigare. Set iam, quia non curatis dictos ribaldos castigare, nos infra breve tempus illos docebimus talem fascessiam quod semper postea penitebunt quod contra nos aliquam vocem offensionis umquam emiserunt. Ad quod verbum dominus de<sup>a</sup> Grevilla corde gravi militi sic<sup>a</sup> respondit : Hoc nunquam erit, ut ego spero, in vestra potestate. Ad<sup>4</sup> quem Iohannes de Cornubia talia loquebatur : Tu es dominus in hac plaga, dominam pulcram habens in uxorem, ad cuius capitis ornamenta ego tecum convadeo duo milia coronarum sub fide militari si perdidero fideliter tibi persolvendarum, ita quod tu sub mea stipulacione equum cum cella aurea eiusdem valoris mihi revadeas si tu perdas sub similis fidei sacramento mihi persolvendum, quod infra xv dies<sup>5</sup> ex altera parte Sequane vobis et illis rusticis rex noster dominabitur, sicut modo in ista parte | (f. 272) dominatur.<sup>6</sup> Promitto, Grevilla dixit, sub fide militari.

c<sup>m</sup> xvj<sup>[m]</sup>. *Consilium regis Henrici V<sup>ti</sup>*. Tunc dominus Iohannes de Cornubia, verso loro, ad regis tentoria inpiger processit et omnia dicta et promissa inter se et dominum de Grevilla ut predicatur Henrico regi seriatim intimavit. Hiis rex auditis, consilio suo convocato, cum modesto spiritu rex prorupit in hec verba : Domini, ut mihi videtur in

<sup>1</sup> Jean Malet, Sire de Graille, captain of Pont de l'Arche.

<sup>2</sup> Sic in MS.

<sup>3</sup> Sic in MS.

<sup>4</sup> For the following story, v. *sup.*, p. 144.

<sup>5</sup> V. *sup.*, p. 163, n. 7.

<sup>6</sup> 'Graille, je vous afferme sur ma foy que demain malgré vous et voz aidans passeray l'eau de Seine, et se je passe, vous me donnerez le meilleur coursier que vous avez, et se je ne le passe, je vous donneray mon chapel d'acier, lequel je vous feray valoir cinq cens nobles d'or' (*Monstr.*, iii., 276).

hoc opere iam promisso mora trahit periculum. Nam in quanto iam tardamus inimici nostri se in tanto contra nos in armis validius<sup>a</sup> sperabunt. Quapropter vobis consulo vestras scafas et naviculas, quantas habere potestis, simul congregate et in utraque parte pontis huius ville in fluminis ripa caute collocentur et, cum mane in castris meis vobis signum monstravero in quodam campanili, in vasis vestris cum armatis et sagittariis vestris ad alteram partem aque in nomine dei<sup>a</sup> et sancti Georgii velociter navigetis et, quam cito deus dederit, super hostes vestros terram ascendatis viriliter insultando. Igitur hiis omnibus prout rex iusserat dispositis, prout et paratis, rex Henricus ipsa die, valde mane circa solis ortum, ut rex promisit, lucernam accendit in quodam campanili luminosam valde ut signum suis notabile daret aquam transfretandi. Quod omnes sui concernentes ad quinque milia<sup>1</sup> hominum<sup>2</sup> ad vasa sua festinarunt et ad aliam partem aque grata mente navigarunt ex utraque parte ville,<sup>3</sup> prout eis iussum fuerat, omnia perfecere. Contra quos incontinenti quinquaginta milia armatorum<sup>4</sup> in ripa fluminis occurrerunt, set tandem per Christi gratiam Anglici terram ascenderunt in multo tamen discrimine personarum. Et cum terram attigissent sigittarum<sup>5</sup> telis ita Normannos terruerunt quod subsidio fuge omnes simul se dederunt et ad villam veloci cursu redierunt et, clausis portis, post hec foras suas fores exire non auderunt. Et illi rustici supradicti, prius garuli et clamosi, pre timore Anglicorum in patriam confugerunt et nunquam post hec contra Anglos nocivas voces ediderunt. Hiis igitur sub triumpho dei gratia viriliter peractis, rex immensas deo nostro gratias gratis solvit. Et dominus Iohannes de Cornubia, miles nobilis antedictus, ante locum ad quem fugerat dominus Iohannes de Grevilla in decenti armorum apparatu palam equitavit. Cui taliter clamitavit in gallicorum lingua: Grevile, Grevile, respice iam et considera qualiter nunc hic equitat Iohannes de Cornubia. Considera etiam quomodo rex noster dominatur in ista parte de Sequana, laudetur dei potencia. Grevile, dico, pactum serva. Equum meum ut spoppondisti<sup>6</sup> mihi manda, phaleratum cum freno et cella nobiliter de auratis. Nam si bene recolis non obstante tua pompa perdidisti tua vadimonia. Tunc dictus dominus de Grevilla caballum misit ad valorem ut promisit domino Iohanni | (f. 272v.) de Cornubia.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. *Monstrelet*, iii. 277.

<sup>2</sup> Supply 'et.'

<sup>3</sup> Sic in MS.

<sup>2</sup> 'hominibus,' MS.

<sup>4</sup> See note 1 above.

<sup>6</sup> Sic in MS.

Verumtamen in lobore<sup>1</sup> gravi infra xv dies<sup>2</sup> huius sic factis et expeditis castellum se regi reddidit et villa eciam reddita fuit et redempta ad regis voluntatem cum omnibus existentibus in illa. Tunc huius ville rex capitaneum constituit dominum ducem Excestr' et eam subdidit eius gubernacioni. Et rex villam tunc intravit in nobili apparatu. Cuius ville obsidione facta et finita exercitus regis cum eius<sup>a</sup> cariagio per medium castelli et ville vicos nobiliter pertranssivit<sup>3</sup> versus obsidionem Rotomagensis<sup>4</sup> civitatis. Set pons ille nobilis inter castellum et villam constructus, gravi pondere falaricarum domini regis Henrici pressus et quassatus, pars quedam in aquam est collapsa. Quem pontem rex suis sumptibus in gradum pristinum mox redegit et forcius reformavit.

c<sup>m</sup> xvij[m]. *Missio ducis Excestr'*. Obsidione nobilis ville de Ponte Largo facta et finita, rex Henricus V<sup>tus</sup>, anno V<sup>to</sup> regni sui, ducem Excestr' ad civitatem Rotomagum in Normannia in nobili comitiva destinavit ut situm sciret civitatis et illam in giro caute consideraret ut in muris, turribus et fossatis cum alio eius apparatu in quantum posset intus et exterius. Ad quam civitatem cum dux dictus pervenisset admirans circumspexit, nam suburbium totum ad solum vidit coequatum, quia cives huius civitatis suburbium illud prostraverunt, ne suis emulis tutamen daret<sup>a</sup> sive protectionem. Unam insuper abathiam sancti Iacobi<sup>5</sup> edificatam in suburbio cives destruxerunt cum septem aliis ecclesiis parochialibus,<sup>6</sup> in honorem sancti Hillarii et aliorum sanctorum diversorum antiquitus dedicatis. Et omne meremium ecclesiarum dictarum et domorum in civitatem detulerunt et omnes sepes, tribulos et vepres in circuitu civitatis igni combusserunt. Consideravit eciam dictam civitatem ad bellum prontam, munitissimam et undique armatam. Porro in omni spacio super murum civitatis inter turres una magna falarica fuerat locata, presto ad sagittandum vel lapides emittendos. Insuper dux predictus sagaciter consideravit foveam urbis profundam nimis et inundatam et in parte eius exteriori cuniculatam et subfossam gravem valde ad

<sup>1</sup> Sic in MS.

<sup>2</sup> V. *sup.*, p. 163, n. 7.

<sup>3</sup> Sic in MS.

<sup>4</sup> Rouen.

<sup>5</sup> The Abbey of St. Gervais, to the N.W. of the Porte Cauchoise.

<sup>6</sup> Eight are given in *Archeol.*, xxi., 50. Strecché's account of the siege of Rouen corresponds almost exactly with the poem as it occurs in *Archeol.*, xxi., xxii.

expugnandum et pedicis ferreis stratum ad hominum plantas nequiter perforandas. Hiis igitur plene consideratis, dux nobilis antedictus duos misit caduciatores ad totam civitatem, volens scire an in urbe congregati et commorantes Henrico regi gratis vellent obtemperare reddendo sibi civitatem vel se defendendo, eius spernens<sup>1</sup> iussa bellando repugnare. Ad que interrogata ipsi de civitate responsum non dederunt set cito in manu forti mulites<sup>2</sup> multi superbo corde per portam quamdam exierunt et cum duce dicto acriter pugnaverunt. Et falaricarum iactus in grandi strepitu in ducem undique emiservunt in non modicum discrimenis<sup>3</sup> partis utriusque, nam in illo conflictu multi lesi corruerunt. Set tandem, deo dante, dux cum suis<sup>a</sup> in hostes suos ita ruit quod omnes Rotomagenses | (f. 273) in civitatem coegit concito reintrare. Quibus in civitatem retrocessis, dux mox lorum suum vertit et ad regem, in Ponte Largo existentem, absque mora equitavit. Omnia facta, considerata et conspecta circa dictam urbem dux regi denudavit, unde rex admirans taliter est exorsus: Si vixero deo duce infra triduum egomet illuc pergam et eos aliter visitabo.<sup>4</sup> Nam dux Clarencie de obsidione castelli de Harecort et Bekherlewynn<sup>5</sup> regi ad Pontem Largum tunc temporis advenit et dominus dux Glovernie post capcionem ville de<sup>a</sup> Chirburgh<sup>6</sup> ad regem eciam venit. Et in eodem loco alternatim de perpetratis in Christo congaudebant, qui regibus dat salutem.

c<sup>m</sup> xviii[m]. *De obsidione civitatis Rotomagi per Henricum regem V<sup>tu</sup>m*. Rex Henricus quintus anno V<sup>to</sup><sup>7</sup> regni sui et incarnationis dominice, anno m<sup>o</sup>cccc<sup>m</sup>o xviii<sup>o</sup>, feria sexta ante festum sancti Petri quod dicitur<sup>a</sup> advincula<sup>8</sup>, cum ducibus, comitibus, baronibus, militibus et exercitu suo universo in gravi bellico, apparatu versus civitatem Rotomagi in nomine Ihesu ad eius obsidionem iter suum sumpsit et non longe ab illa urbe pro tempore tentoria sua fixit. Set in crastino in die sabbati in exercitu rex fecit publice proclamari quod quilibet dominus cum suis omnibus in circuitu civitatis tentoria sua figeret et<sup>a</sup> locaret, urbis obsidionem iugiter inchoando, et domini principales ante quinque urbis portas precipue loca sua collocarent, eligerent

<sup>1</sup> 'spernans,' MS.

<sup>2</sup> Sic in MS.

<sup>3</sup> Sic in MS.

<sup>4</sup> This speech does not occur in the poem.

<sup>5</sup> Bec Hellouin.

<sup>6</sup> 22 Aug., 1418.

<sup>7</sup> Recte 'anno vj<sup>o</sup>.' Henry arrived before Rouen on 29 July.

<sup>8</sup> Ad Vincula (1 Aug.).

et pararent. Verumtamen rex cum suis locum sumpsit in parte civitatis orientali in domo<sup>a</sup> cuiusdam Cartusie<sup>1</sup> et ibi se et suos disposuit prestolari. Et dominus dux Clarencie in parte urbis occidentali in quadam abathia nuper devastata,<sup>2</sup> ante portam le Causes<sup>3</sup> nominatam, sua tentoria fixit. Et dominus dux Gloucestre cum nobili suo retinemento prope portam sancti Hillarii sub gravi periculo suum elegit locum audacter ibi expectando discrimina bellicosa. Et dominus dux Excestrie ante portam de Lavise<sup>4</sup> illius civitatis suam caute statuit mansionem illam portam iugiter obsedendo. Necnon comes de Huntyngdon<sup>5</sup> ante portam de la Pount de Sene<sup>6</sup> dicte urbis persistebat diram gwerram omni die cum hostibus committendo. Ac etiam dominus comes Warwých<sup>7</sup> Ricardus, postquam castellum de Donfrount<sup>7</sup> expugnasset et villam de Caldebekis<sup>8</sup> regi Henrico per iuramentum fedelitatis subdidisset sic ut regea classis per eam tute posset navigando preterire, ad obsidionem Rotomagi civitatis tunc comes ipse ante portam le Martevile<sup>9</sup> dicte civitatis, erectis tentoriis suis, decrevit permanere in aliorum optimatum nobili comitiva ut inclusos vi et armis impediret per illam viam preterire. Et alii insuper domini, magnates, comites, barones et milites unusquisque in suo gradu in civitatis circuitu, erectis tentoriis, se et suos simili modo collocarunt, eventus gwerre sine metu prestolantes | (f. 273v.) nobilem civitatem nobiliter expugnando. Tunc post hec per Sequanam classis applicuit regia ad urbem iam dictam in navium magnarum multitudine copiosa. Et sic obsessa fuit nobilis civitas in gurgite et in terra. Set quando regia classis ad civitatem fuerat appulsa, rex confestim magnam catenam ferream fecit fabricari et super aquam de Sequana a ripa ad ripam in ingentibus stipitibus sive postibus rex catenam statuit firmiter colligari, extendi et firmari ita ut nulla pippis hanc catenam versus civitatem posset preterire.<sup>10</sup> Et non longe a dicta catena super eandem aquam

<sup>1</sup> The Charterhouse of Notre Dame de la Rose.

<sup>2</sup> The Abbey of St. Gervais.

<sup>3</sup> Porte Cauchoise.

<sup>4</sup> Porte Beauvoisine.

<sup>5</sup> John, Earl of Huntingdon.

<sup>6</sup> Porte du Pont.

<sup>7</sup> Surrendered 22 July (*Tit. Liv.*, p. 51).

<sup>8</sup> Caudebec, which dominated the river and was in a position to prevent supplies being brought from Harfleur to Rouen. It agreed on 9 Sept., 1418 (1) to share the fate of Rouen; (2) not to interfere with English shipping (*Rym.*, ix., 620).

<sup>9</sup> Porte Martinville.

<sup>10</sup> Further details concerning this chain occur in *Monstr.*, iii., 284.



miro ingenio meabilem pontem<sup>1</sup> rex construxit et ordinavit per quem pedestres et equestres eciam si eis placuerit libere possent convenire, pergere,<sup>2</sup> similiter equitare absque metu vel tremore durante dicte civitatis firma obsidione.

c[m] xix<sup>m</sup>. *De nobilitate civitatis Rotomagi et illius castelli.* Verumtamen quando civitas Rotomag' primo fuerat obsessa, huius urbis Ewido le Butuler<sup>3</sup> principalis fuerat capitaneus, sub se habens ad quinque portas civitatis quinque barones capitaneos<sup>4</sup> per se deputatos quorum cuilibet decem milia armatorum<sup>5</sup> fuerant specialiter deputata in defencionem huius preclare civitatis. Et sic in obsidione huius urbis prima infra civitatem cccc<sup>ta</sup> milia<sup>6</sup> virorum, feminarum et parvulorum cum valitudinariis fuerant conunerata,<sup>7</sup> quorum quidam cotidie in manu forti ad urbis portas exierunt et cum nostris Angligenis fortiter pugnaverunt. Quidam eciam equestres in magna pompa cum caballis in campos palam equitarunt et rabide cursu iterato in urbem ad suum libitum redierunt. Quidam tamen sagittis obviando hunc ludum abhorrerunt. Quorum ferocitatem et superbiam rex Henricus considerans, foviam magnam et tumulatam rex precepit fieri<sup>8</sup> in circuitu tocius civitatis et sepem superponi rex iussit cum sudibus et palis in fossate superficie fixis firmiter et connexis quam equites nec quaquam possent preterire. Pedestres tamen postea in nobili armorum apparatu de civitate frequenter exierunt, quibus Angli ad manum semper vi armata obviaverunt unde multi ex parte utraque multociens ceciderunt, nunc ex iactu tragulorum nunc ex ictibus sagittarum violenter occuberunt. Et sic<sup>a</sup> unusquisque dominus, duces, comites et barones in sua custodia ad includendam civitatem iugiter laborarunt. In huius urbis obsidione rex Anglie naves non habuit<sup>9</sup> ut affectavit<sup>10</sup> ex altera parte pontis Rotomag' civitatis eapropter rex duas rates ex aqua trahi

<sup>1</sup> Pont St. Georges.

<sup>2</sup> Supply 'et.'

<sup>3</sup> Guy le Bouteiller.

<sup>4</sup> Six are named in *Archeol.*, xxi., p. 58.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*, 59. But five thousand in H. Huscher, *John Page's Siege of Rouen*, p. 152, and J. Gairdner, *Hist. Collections of a London Citizen*, p. 14. Ten thousand is obviously an exaggeration.

<sup>6</sup> 'Unto four hundred thewsande and ten' (*Archeol.*, xxi., 59). 'iij ccc. m<sup>l</sup> and ten' (Huscher, Gairdner, *loc. cit.*).

<sup>7</sup> ? Sic in MS. Read 'connumerata.'

<sup>8</sup> The making of this ditch was superintended by Sir Robert Babthorp (*Archeol.*, xxi., 61).

<sup>9</sup> This refers only to the upper reaches of the river, *v. sup.*, p. 141.

<sup>10</sup> Supply 'et.'

iussit, arte ingeniosa, et per terram ultra montem iuxta civitatem illas traxit super trudas, velis tensis, per duo miliaria. Et ex altera parte pontis civitatis in Sequane flumine concito naves <sup>a</sup> collocavit ut magis noceret civitati per aquam tunc obsesse. Tunc infra dictam civitatem rumores cotidie crebrescebant quod dux Burgundie <sup>1</sup> cum multis milibus armatorum infra tempus breve defensaret civitatem | (f. 274) et quod cum rege nostro bellando dimicaret, unde civitas grandi pulsu campanorum iugiter iubilabat, adventum et presidium dicti ducis usque ad festum natalis domini in dies prestolando. Set in hoc in suo desiderio fraudati fuerunt. Preterea die ultimo mensis Decembris milicia tota civitatis cum maiore, burgensibus et urbis cuncta communitate simul ad consilium convenerunt quomodo cum rege Anglorum Henrico pro pace et civitatis redditione melius tractarent. Unde in nocte circumcisionis domini <sup>2</sup> ad omnem portam civitatis miles quidam Gallicus ad infra clamitavit. Set non erat qui clamanti responderet nisi tamen ad portam Pontis de Seyne quam comes Huntýngdonie observabat. Miles quidam dixit : Quis tu qui clamas ? Quid iam aptas ? Cui clamans ait : Estne miles ibi qui nostram linguam novit ? Cui quidam sic respondit : Ego miles in vestra loquens lingua et nomen meum Gilbertus de Grevilla. <sup>3</sup> Cui clamans, multum gaudens, ita est exorsus : Vos estis miles de stipite antiqua et veteri sanguine Normannorum. <sup>4</sup> Nunc nos omnes unan[im]iter vos imploramus quatinus iam pro parte nostra penes regem vestrum instare vellitis et alios dominos, duces, comites et barones ut certe persone de hac civitate venire possent sub gratia ad regis Anglie presenciam pro pace et huius urbis dispositione celeriter tractature. Cui comes de Kýma antedictus taliter respondit : Ego velle vestrum regi nostro libenter intimabo. Qui comes inde <sup>a</sup> perrexit et voluntatem Gallorum regi nostro per seriem detexit, que peticio Henrico regi non displicuit nec magnatibus suis. Unde rex ex civitate xij personas assignavit ad eius presenciam in crastino venire, videlicet iiij<sup>or</sup> milites, iiij<sup>or</sup> clericos et iiij<sup>or</sup> burgenses, quos in crastino comes de Kýma antedictus ad regis nostri presenciam conduxit. Et

<sup>1</sup> John, Duke of Burgundy.

<sup>2</sup> 1 Jan.

<sup>3</sup> *Sic.* In the MS. the first three letters are blurred and do not fill the space allotted to them. Has 'Umfer(villa)' been erased and 'Gre(villa)' substituted ? The former is correct.

<sup>4</sup> Umfraville's family came originally from Amfreville in the Cotentin.

eis simul dixit: Domini reverendi, videatis quomodo caute loquimini in presencia regis nostri ne forte in verbo offendatis, quia cum tali principe nunquam communicastis. Qui xij persone, cum coram rege nostro convenissent, ad terram ceciderunt et, flexis genibus, madido wltu, voce simplici, humiliter regi supplicarunt ut ipse pro Christi pietate populo in civitate incluso parcere vellet et misereri, et precipue illis qui extra muros civitatis in fossatis pestifera fame perierunt. Ad quod verbum modeste rex respondit: Quis eos foras expulit et in foviam fecit ire? Nam ibi wlgus multum videbatur pro fame exspirare et multas eciam mulieres cum ubera sugentibus ibi tristi fame et frigore interire ob defectum victus, et quod dicere est dolendum communitas infra urbem clausa equos macros, catos, canes, mures et ratones care emptos<sup>1</sup> comederunt. Set hii xij nuncii antedicti sub compendio coram rege, verba sua componentes, a rege Henrico gratiam tandem tantam impetrarunt ut cum eius consilio in crastino communicarent quomodo se et civitatem Henrico regi submitterent et quid darent pro offensa civium et civitatis. Et a presencia regis protunc recesserunt<sup>2</sup> | (f. 274v.).

c<sup>m</sup> xx<sup>m</sup>. Tunc rex Henricus duo tentoria ante portam sancti Hillarii celeriter erigi mandavit quo Anglici possent cum Normannicis ad tractandum convenire. Sic rex Henricus pro parte sua ad tractandum et consulendum comitem Warwyc', comitem Sarum, dominum Fihuwe<sup>3</sup> et dominum Walterum de Hungerford misit et assignavit.<sup>4</sup> Et pro parte civitatis xij docti et disertii similiter convenerunt qui cum regis nostri consilio per quindenam iugiter de pace et concordia ut premititur tractaverunt. Finem tamen optatum protunc inter se non habuerunt nam consilium regis Anglie pro parte sua grandia postularunt et illi de civitate pauca protulerunt. Et sic discordes illa vice ab invicem discesserunt, tentoriis extirpatis et remotis. Illi tamen de civitate usque mediam noctem ab Anglis treugas impetrarunt et<sup>5</sup> urbem intraverunt. Tunc regis Anglie consilium ad presensiam eius properavit et que

<sup>1</sup> 'ēmp̄tos,' MS.

<sup>2</sup> Margin: 'c<sup>m</sup> xx<sup>m</sup>.'

<sup>3</sup> Henry, Lord Fitzhugh.

<sup>4</sup> Seven commissioners were appointed, the remaining three being Sir John Robsart, Gilbert Umfraville and João de Vasques of Almada (*Rym.*, ix., 664). Only four are given in the poem ('by name y can nomo record,' *Archeol.*, xxii., 372).

<sup>5</sup> The reason for this is given in L. Puiseux, *Siège et Prise de Rouen par les Anglais, 1418-19*, p. 174, n. 2.

facta et dicta fuerant per singula regi retulerunt. Post hec cum <sup>a</sup> dicti nuncii qui cum Anglis prius tractaverant in urbem revenissent, toto wlgō ad consilium convocato cum dominis et bugensibus,<sup>1</sup> quomodo in tractando cum Angligenis ipsi discordantes ab invicem recesserunt et cetera que facta et dicta fuerant dictis dominis et universis in urbe constitutis palam publicarunt. Quibus wulgus urbis mox respondit: Ut quid ad consilium modo convocastis nos <sup>a</sup>? Unum vidimus ex duobus in hac parte eligendum, aut hic in urbe fame peribimus vel ad regis Anglie voluntatem civitatem hanc sursum coredemus. Vos potentes pro vestris diviciis tempus prorogatis et de nobis simplicibus fame et siti pereuntibus in nullo curatis. Tunc totum wlgus ante mediam noctem ad portam sancti Hilarii alta voce eiulando clamitavit ut aliquis dominus vel generosus cum eis loqui vellet. Quibus miles quidam<sup>2</sup> ex parte regis Anglie extra dictam portam persistens clamantibus respondit: Quid vultis? Quid sic conclamatis? Qui omnes militi responderunt: Obsecramus domine ut instare vellitis pro nobis penes dominum ducem Gloucestr' ut regem Anglie pro nobis roget, quod ex sua gratia speciali ad eius iterum presensiam quidam de nostris possent convenire pro eius pace inposterum obtinenda et regis Anglie voluntati gratiose, quantum in nobis est, nos omnes suppliciter submittemus. Quod cum Henrico regi Anglie nobilissimo per fratrem suum ducem Glovernie fuerat intimatum, rex de sua gratia novum eis tractatum dedit et concessit. Et tunc Archiepiscopus Cantuar',<sup>3</sup> agnoscens velle regis ad ipsum cito properavit ut cum clero dicte civitatis de pace finali tractare posset concito imppetravit.<sup>4</sup> Porro inter clerum civitatis et eius populum pacis finalis et concordie hec fuit conclusio, rege Henrico annuente cum suo consilio, quod domini et communitas urbis Rotomag' ad regem mitterent Francorum et ad ducem Burgundie eis fideliter certificando de inclusorum dispendio et miseria civitatis et quod nisi infra iiij<sup>or</sup> dies succursum haberent et defencionem,<sup>5</sup> Anglorum regi sursum redderent civitatem cum <sup>a</sup> castello <sup>a</sup> et eiusdem regis ligii et fideles fierent in tempore futuro, et insuper quod regi Anglorum solverent | (f. 275) pro castelli et urbis redempcione lxxx<sup>ta</sup>m<sup>lia</sup> solverent coronarum<sup>6</sup> et castellum de

<sup>1</sup> Sic in MS.<sup>2</sup> Sir John Robsart (*Archeol.*, xxii., 376).<sup>3</sup> Henry Chichele.<sup>4</sup> Sic in MS.<sup>5</sup> Incorrect. After 4 days negotiations 8 days respite was allowed (*Ibid.*, 378; Huscher, pp. 193, 194; Gairdner, p. 40).<sup>6</sup> This should be £50,000 (= 300,000 scutes.) (*Archeol.*, loc. cit.; Huscher, p. 194; Gairdner, loc. cit.)

novo super aquam Sequane infra urbem regi edificarent eodem anno suis laboribus et expensis, et ipsi cives infra civitatem illam libertatem et licenciam haberent nogociandi,<sup>1</sup> mercanzandi, emendi et vendendi qui infra Normanniam nati fuerant et non alii, et ipsi omnes iurati essent et fideles inposterum regibus Anglorum, et omnes alii de civitate captivi essent et <sup>a</sup> ad regis redempti voluntatem, et omnes stipendiarii et conducticii gwerrarum unusquisque in sola sua diploide, omnibus rebus suis derelictis, sic quasi nudus, exiret de civitate.<sup>2</sup> Ad hoc omnia pars utraque consenciebat et hoc pactum conservare, nisi ut supra dictum est, infra <sup>iii</sup><sup>or</sup> dies<sup>3</sup> civitas succursum haberet cum defensione. Et super hoc negotio quidam capitaneus dicte civitatis, nomine Magnus Iacobus sive Graunt Iacus,<sup>4</sup> nuncius Francorum regi destinatur.<sup>5</sup> Set post suum discessum dictus <sup>a</sup> Iacobus non revenit set legatum suum <sup>6</sup> ad urbem remisit, eisdem intimans quod pro parte illorum succursum nullum scivit vel defensionem per Francorum regem seu eius dominos.<sup>7</sup> Quapropter quod sibi melius viderint in hac necessitate consuluit diffiniri.

<sup>c<sup>m</sup></sup> xxj<sup>[m]</sup>. *Redditio civitatis Rotomagi*. Hiis auditis, die iovis in festo sancti Wlstanii episcopi et confessoris, xv die mensis Ianuarii,<sup>8</sup> dominus Ewido le Buteler, huius civitatis et castelli capitaneus principalis, cum aliis dominis, clericis et burgensibus Rotomag' civitatis in quadam domo Cartusie<sup>9</sup> ibidem regi Anglie, in solio suo regali strenuissime sedenti cum nobili apparatu, claves urbis et castelli super truncum lanciae genuflectendo dedit et liberavit, et sic se et civitatem nobilem cum forti eius castello regie sue potestati et dispositioni cum honore maximo in omnibus submitit. Unde rex Henricus sine mora dictas claves acceptavit et eas tradidit domino duci Excestr' quem dicti castelli capitaneum fecit principalem et dispensatorem insuper totius civitatis. Qui dux eodem die, ex iussu Henrici regis Anglie, cum magna solempnitate ad portam civitatis le Martevile<sup>10</sup> nuncupatam intravit civitatem et sic per totam

<sup>1</sup> Sic in MS.

<sup>2</sup> See Rymer, ix., 664 sqq.

<sup>3</sup> V. sup., p. 173.

<sup>4</sup> Mr. Williams suggests Jacques Felm, a Bohemian, esquire to Norfolk at his duel with Henry of Lancaster (*Gesta*, p. 128, n. 2), but the probability is that he was an Italian (Huscher, p. 218).

<sup>5</sup> Sic in MS.

<sup>6</sup> 'A messenger' (*Archeol.*, xxii., 379). But 'messengers' in Huscher, p. 195; Gairdner, p. 41.

<sup>7</sup> 'dominorum,' MS.

<sup>8</sup> Recte 19 Jan.

<sup>9</sup> The Charterhouse of Notre Dame de la Rose.

<sup>10</sup> Recte Beauvoisine (*Archeol.*, xxii., 380; Huscher, p. 196; Gairdner, p. 42).



civitatem illo die in grandi apparatu, in sonitu buccinarum et modulatu musicali dux dictus equitavit et castellum ea nocte dux eciam intravit. Et pro regis adventu excellenter ordinavit. Et vexilla triumphalia in diversis locis dictus dux confixit, primo super altam turrin castelli vexillum armorum regis Anglie et Francie<sup>a</sup> dux solempniter erexit, et ad portam sancti Hillarii vexillum fixit sancte trinitatis, ad portam de Causes<sup>1</sup> vexillum posuit virginis Marie,<sup>2</sup> ad portam vero le Martevile vexillum sancti Georgii solempniter eciam collocavit. Et rex Henricus in crastino, videlicet in die veneris, venit ad civitatem, cui omnes episcopi et septem abbates urbis cum clero et populo, xlij<sup>bus</sup> crucibus precedentibus, regi extra portas civitatis processionaliter obvia verunt<sup>3</sup> in optimo suo apparatu. Quas cruces rex osculando humiliter adoravit. Et ad portam le Causes cum omni mansuetudine sine tumultu | (f. 275v.) tube sive fistile<sup>4</sup> rex pius intravit. Per eius wltum et regalem eius apparatum omnis populus qui ipsum nusquam viderant ante veraciter cognoverunt, unde tota civitas ipsum bene advenisse voce clara conclamavit, *Nowel* decantando. Tunc rex ad monasterium matris Christi humiliter equitavit, cui sua capella processionaliter ibidem obviavit, responsorium *Quis deus magnus sicut deus noster*<sup>5</sup> solempniter decantando, ubi devote rex missam audivit, preces et numera devote deo corde<sup>6</sup>grato persolvendo. Et postquam divina sic audiverat et partem urbis perlustra venerat,<sup>6</sup> castellum urbis rex intravit et in omni abundancia victualium civitatem rex replevit, in tocius populi consolamen. Et sic obsidio huius urbis duravit per quinque menses et tres septimanas, scilicet a festo sancti Petri quod dicitur<sup>a</sup> advincula in Augusto<sup>7</sup> usque festum sancti Wlstani in Februario.<sup>8</sup> Set dicta obsidione durante, scilicet urbis Rotomag<sup>7</sup>, xxv<sup>ta</sup> die mensis Novembris in festo sancte Katerine, decem milia armatorum ad portam de le<sup>a</sup> Beauvise,<sup>9</sup> ubi dux Excestr<sup>7</sup> cum aliis dominis persistebat, mane in aurora hostiliter exierunt et sic quasi subito super Anglos irruerunt, unde eorum tentoria violenter prosternarunt et cum eis pugnare ceperunt ab hora diei prima usque decem de campana, in

<sup>1</sup> Porte Cauchoise.

<sup>2</sup> *Archeol.*, xxii., 382. But in Huscher, p. 199, Gairdner, p. 44, the banner of Mary is erected on the Porte Beauvoisine.

<sup>3</sup> *Sic* in MS. Read 'obviaverunt.'

<sup>4</sup> *Sic* in MS. Read 'fistule.'

<sup>5</sup> Underlined in MS.

<sup>6</sup> *Sic* in MS. Read 'perlustraverat.'

<sup>7</sup> 1 Aug.

<sup>8</sup> *Recte* January, v. *sup.*, p. 174.

<sup>9</sup> Beauvoisine, v. *sup.*, p. 141.

tantum quod Angli fuerunt vehementer fatigati et ob defectum copie sagittarum in bello fere superati. Set dei tandem providentia miles quidam, Willelmus Harenton<sup>1</sup> nomine, cuius tentoria ab urbe illa distabant per tria miliaria,<sup>2</sup> cum lx<sup>ta</sup> arcubis ex<sup>3</sup> x<sup>cem</sup> lanceis velocius ad conflictum illum venit et pugnantes ex parte regis Anglorum taliter confortavit quod contra hostes suos vi armata invaserunt et illos in civitatem retrocedere recenti pugna coegerunt. Et mille ex eis viriliter Angli occiderunt. Et est hic notandum quod civitas hec<sup>4</sup> ante eius inceptam obsidionem in relevamen suum xxx<sup>ta</sup> milia armatorum et pugnancium conduxit in patria Normannorum.<sup>5</sup> Et multi eciam de plaga circumiacenti cum suis bonis intraverunt dictam civitatem pro bellorum timore ita quod urbe obsessa cccc<sup>ta</sup> centena milia <sup>in</sup> ~~in~~ milia et decem persone<sup>6</sup> de viris, mulieribus et iuvenibus panem manducantibus infra<sup>7</sup> urbem in quinquaginta parochiis fuerant recensita et fideliter numerata, ex quibus ante urbis capcionem x<sup>cem</sup> milia in bello perierunt<sup>8</sup> et xx<sup>ti</sup> milia fame et siti publice perierunt.<sup>9</sup> Et sic finem damus huic obsidioni deo gratias. De qua obsidione sic<sup>10</sup> a metrista quidam<sup>11</sup> scripsit :

Urbis Rotomagi Vulstano capcio claret.

Hec rex Henricus quintus quinto notat anno.<sup>12</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Sir William Harington, head of a leading North Lancashire family; he married Margaret, sister of Sir Thos. Nevill of Hornby (*V.C.H. Lancs.*, iii, 101, n. 5; vi, 200, n. 8). Harington succeeded Scrope as a K.G. on 23 May, 1416 (Wylie, *op. cit.*, iii, 12). He died early in 1440 (*Ibid.*, n. 8; *V.C.H. Lancs.*, i, 347, n. 2).

<sup>2</sup> He lay with the Earl Marshall and Lord Talbot before the Porte de Bouvreuil during the siege (*Archæol.*, xxi, 54).

<sup>3</sup> *Sic* in MS. Read 'et.'

<sup>4</sup> Is this a reference to the force which Burgundy was supposed to be bringing to the relief of the town? This is given as 400,000 in *Archeol.* xxi, 62, and 300,000 in Huscher, p. 156; Gairdner, p. 16.

<sup>5</sup> *Sic* in MS. *V. sup.*, p. 170.

<sup>6</sup> *Sic* in MS.

<sup>7</sup> There is no reference in any version of the poem to this, and other reliable figures are lacking.

<sup>8</sup> Other figures are 'dix a douze mille, qu'en sceut de certain' (Fézin, p. 471), over 50,000 (*Monstr.*, iii, 300), 30,000-70,000 (*Fasti rerum Anglicarum Scriptores*, p. 282). Puiseux appears to support Basin, who gives 60,000 (Puiseux, *op. cit.*, p. 159). *Archeol.*, xxi, 573, merely has 'x or xii deie azens oon alyve.'  
<sup>9</sup> "quida," MS.

<sup>10</sup> Two similar lines are quoted from an old MS. in F. Blomefield, *History of Norfolk*, i, 512, n. 4. Cf. Elmham, *Hist. Mon. S. Augustini Cantuariensis* (ed. C. Hardwick), p. 73. Rouen finally surrendered on St. Wulfstan's Day, 19 Jan., 1419 (Anno VI).

Hoc est dicere anno domini m<sup>o</sup>cccc<sup>o</sup>xviii<sup>o</sup><sup>1</sup> et regis Henrici V<sup>ti</sup> anno V<sup>to</sup> capta et reddita fuit civitas Rotomagensis in Normannia.

c<sup>m</sup> xxij<sup>[m]</sup>. *De prodicione civium Rotomagi.* Finita obsidione civitatis Romag'<sup>2</sup> ut predicatur rex Henricus mansit ibi in eius castello a dicto festo sancti Wlstani usque festum fere annunciacionis dominice,<sup>3</sup> omnibus ut putabatur in pace et quiete dispositis et firmatis. In<sup>4</sup> festo vero purificationis beate Marie virginis rex Henricus proposuit ad principale monasterium huius urbis quod Nostre Dame nominatur, candelam suam offerre cum devocione. | (f. 276.) Set cives huius urbis in dolum versi prodicionis contra Henricum regem se subito armaverunt ut in regem insurgerent, caperent et necarent in monasterio predicto. Set dei gratia eorum prodicio regem non latuit, nam eorum prevenit rex maliciam, in manu forti super illos irruens dum in secreto loco se armarent ut regem interimerent. Et sic dummodo dicta mala machinarentur rex omnes illos cepit et incarceravit. Et ex illis quinquaginta de dicioribus et potencioribus rex in Angliam misit et in diversis castellis incarceravit, qui pro sua redempcione et offensa omni die antequam cibum sumerent quilibet per se XX solidos Henrico regi daret et persolveret. Et hec solucio per xxxvj septimanas continue perduravit in vindictam malefactorum et in comodum Henrici regis Anglorum. Porro dum rex Henricus in urbe Rotomag' moram protolaret, in quadragesima sequenti ille qui princeps delphinatus<sup>5</sup> in Francia nominatur misit ad Henricum regem Anglie quod ad eius presenciam cum iiij<sup>or</sup> milibus armatorum ad villam de<sup>a</sup> Everosa<sup>6</sup> posset pro tractanda pace simul convenire. Cui rex Henricus remisit in hec verba : Eciam si totam Franciam secum duceret bene veniret et bellum et pacem prout eligere vellet ad placitum inveniret. Tunc rex cum exercitu suo a Rotomago recessit et ad villam de Everosa cicius pervenit ubi adventum dicti delphini aliquantulum exspectavit. Set non dum<sup>a</sup> ad Henricum regem venit.<sup>7</sup> Unde rex, graviter erga ipsum in animo

<sup>1</sup> Recte 1419.

<sup>2</sup> Sic in MS.

<sup>3</sup> 25 March.

<sup>4</sup> For the following story, v. *sup.*, p. 143.

<sup>5</sup> The Dauphin, afterwards Charles VII.

<sup>6</sup> Evreux.

<sup>7</sup> On 12 Feb. it was arranged that a personal meeting should take place between Henry and the Dauphin on 26 March, the English envoys from Evreux and the Dauphinist envoys from Dreux to meet together and decide on a meeting-place between these two towns (*Rym.*, ix., 686, 687, 701). Henry arrived at Evreux on 25 March prepared to fulfil his part of the agreement (*Ibid.*, ix., 714), but the Dauphin failed to put in an appearance. See also Ellis, *Original Letters*, 2nd Ser., i., 77

commotus, iureiurando affirmavit quod nunquam cum illo nisi gladio mediante in vita sua de pace pertractaret.

c<sup>m</sup> xxiiij<sup>[m]</sup>. *De obsidione ville de Vernon*. Post festum annunciationis dominice<sup>1</sup> in mense Aprilis anno incarnationis dominice m<sup>o</sup>cccc<sup>o</sup>ix<sup>o</sup> et regni regis Henrici V<sup>ti</sup> vj<sup>to</sup>,<sup>2</sup> circa festum pasche,<sup>3</sup> rex Henricus amovit exercitum suum a villa de Everosa ad obsidionem ville de Vernon super Sequanam quam obsedit in circuitu, tontoriis<sup>4</sup> erectis.<sup>5</sup> Et dictam villam in paucis diebus expugnavit, cepit et sue subdidit dispositioni. Ac insuper tota patria hiis auditis ut picta oppida, ville municiones et castella regi Henrico per Normanniam se humiliter submiserunt. Tunc post hec rex Henricus in Franciam cum suo exercitu festinavit et villam de Maunt<sup>6</sup> iugiter obsedit.<sup>7</sup> Erectis tentoriis et militibus<sup>a</sup> suis circa eam in circuitu dispositis et ordinatis, post insultus graves infra mensem eam cepit et captivavit et sic sue deflexit voluntati. Et post eius capcionem rex villam intravit et diebus multis ibi exspectavit. Et dum moram in dicta villa de Maunt<sup>6</sup> suam prorogaret, rex misit dominum Iohannem Radeclifis et dominum Willelmum Porter cum multis aliis militibus in nobili comitiva ad villam de Drewes<sup>9</sup> ut eius ville inciperent obsidionem. Qua obsessa multociens ibidem contra eam viriliter dimicarunt | (f. 276v.) et insultus varios<sup>10</sup> eidem fecerunt in dira pugna cum discrimine nobilium personarum. Completis tamen xij septimanis villa capta fuerat et regis Henrici reddita voluntati. Dum rex eciam in villa de Maunt per-

<sup>1</sup> 25 March.

<sup>2</sup> Recte 'anno vij<sup>o</sup>.'

<sup>3</sup> Easter Day, 1419, was 16 April.

<sup>4</sup> Sic in MS.

<sup>5</sup> Incorrect. Henry certainly moved from Evreux to Vernon in the first week of April (*Rym.*, ix., 727 sq.), but not to besiege the town, for it had already yielded to Clarence on 3 Feb., 1419, while Henry was still at Rouen, Sir Wm. Porter being appointed captain (*Ibid.*, ix., 679, 693; *Gesta*, p. 277).

<sup>6</sup> Mantes. Margin: 'Obsidio de Maunte.'

<sup>7</sup> This account is entirely erroneous. The authorities of Mantes had forestalled attack by delivering the keys to Clarence, the town capitulating on 5 Feb., 1419 (*St. Denys*, vi., 310; *Bibl. Nat. fr.* 26042, No. 5332, in R. A. Newhall, *The English Conquest of Normandy*, p. 128, n. 211).

<sup>8</sup> Henry had taken up his quarters at Mantes on or before 26 May, 1419 (*D.K.R.*, xli., 775 sqq., 786 sqq.).

<sup>9</sup> Dreux. Margin: 'Drewes.' But this is incorrect. Dreux was not besieged until 22 July, 1421 (*Gesta*, p. 153). The capitulation took place on 8 August, and the gates were opened on the 20th (Newhall, p. 282).

<sup>10</sup> 'varies,' MS.



maneret, misit dominum ducem de Excestria in Normannium ad castellum fortissimum de Galýard<sup>1</sup> ut illud obsideret et lucraretur. Quo cum dux nobilis pervenisset illud obsessit in manu bellica cum omni cautela gwerre, set per insultus graves et labores plurimos nequivit illud obtinere. Set dux per sex menses<sup>2</sup> ibi iacuit, castellum illud diligenter oppugnando et inclusos, fame et ferro confusos, obtinuit triumphando. Et castellum illud commisit tutamini Anglicorum qui in diebus regis Henrici V<sup>ti</sup> dictum castellum munierunt. Preterea dum rex, ut dictum est, in villa de Maunt exspectaret, misit dominum ducem Clarencie, fratrem suum, in Franciam ad villam de Pounttýes<sup>3</sup> ut illam oppugnaret. Quod<sup>4</sup> cum audisset miles quidam alienigena, stipendiarius tamen domini ducis antedicti, in presencia domini ducis in hec verba prorupit: Domine, si placeat ego cum c<sup>m</sup> viris quos conduco in hac nocte versus villam de Pounttýes vos precedam cum omni festinatione. Et pro certo promitto vobis quod muros ville antedictæ cum omnibus meis ascendam in hac nocte clanculo ante solis ortum, et<sup>5</sup> vos lento pede me sequimini sine strepitu ut circa primam diei subsidium mihi subiectatis. Et nomen huic militi fuerat Andreas de Lumbardia.<sup>6</sup> Qui miles a dicto duce Clarencie licenciam petivit et versus dictam villam velociter properavit. Quo cum inpiger pervenisset, in quantum potuit,<sup>a</sup> singula consideravit et muros ville circumivit. Et tandem ad tirrim quandam muri ville, super quam a terra usque eius summum edera multa crevit, miles cum suis concito conscendit et, super muros pergens, vigiles interfecit. Et sic muros ville pugnando cum suis paucis observavit a diluculo in decem de campana in labore et periculo cum discrimine gravi personarum. Verumtamen dominus dux antedictus cum exercitu suo versus villam de Pounttýes ut dicto militi succurreret cicius properavit. Tamen, ductus per infidum ductorem, quando clara dies coruscabat dux cum suis a villa de Pounttýes distabat per septem

<sup>1</sup> Chateau Gaillard. Margin: 'Castrum de Gaylard.' Exeter was sent against Chateau Gaillard in April (*D.K.R.*, xli., 803).

<sup>2</sup> Cf. the important note in Newhall, p. 131. The English took possession on 8 Dec. (*Gesta*, p. 132).

<sup>3</sup> Pontoise. For the following story, *v. sup.*, p. 143.

<sup>4</sup> Margin: 'Nota hic bene de duce Clarenc'.

<sup>5</sup> Margin: 'Pounteys'.

<sup>6</sup> Basset and Hanson also call him Andrew Lombard (*E.H.R.*, xli., 510), but Hall gives his name as Andrew Forgusa (p. 106). Neither mentions his connection with the taking of Pontoise.



fere miliaria. Quod dux considerans, in iram motus, capud sui conductoris<sup>1</sup> mox iussit amputari et, verso loro, ad villam antedictam vehementer festinavit. Quo cum velox pervenisset et dictus miles super ville muros adhuc pugnans ipsum ducem cum suo exercitu conspexisset, ante valvas ville miles mox cum suis omnibus de muro descendebat et, invitis omnibus inimicis suis, nescio quo casu, dicto duci portas ville concito reseravit. Et sic incontinenti dux cum suis villam est ingressus. Et in gravi conflictu dux tandem villam cepit, occisis multis et captivatis. Set post ducis ingressum, durante pugna gravi, dictus miles qui prius ad villam venerat, conflictu nimio fatigatus, ad nichil aliud vacaverat cum suis complicitibus nisi quod preciosa dicte ville iocalia<sup>2</sup> | (f. 277) ad suam predam congregaret dum dominus dux pugnaret. Porro, villa capta per dictum ducem, reddita et superata, dominum Andream, militem supradictum, dominus dux Clarencie ad suam presenciam vocavit, scicitans ab eo de auro et iocalibus dicte ville que miles sue proprie potestati simul agregavit. Cui miles respondit iusto titulo hoc se fecisse nam primus ipse villam intravit et eciam dicto domino duci ville valvas reseravit. Verumtamen dominus dux illud non sic fieri publice voce indicavit et militem ab omni preda sua protinus privavit. Quod dictus miles grave gerens ab obsequio domini ducis penitus recessit et famulatui adversariorum eius quam cicus se ingressit. Pro dulo hoc discensio ducis et militis antedicti causa movens fuerat necis principis predicti ut in sequenti opere, capitulo<sup>2</sup> ij<sup>o</sup> a sequenti,<sup>3</sup> legentibus liquebit.<sup>3</sup> Set ut predicatur dicta villa capta, subiugata et redempta, dux Clarencie ibidem mansit usque tempus illud quo Henricus rex Anglie cum rege Francie pro sponsalibus Katerine filie sue generosissime convenerat pertractare in campo spaciose et ad opus huiusmodi specialiter limitato.

c<sup>m</sup> xxiii<sup>um</sup>. *Quomodo comes Warr' erat missus Regi Francie pro nupciis domine Katerine, filie regis Gall'. Preterea rege Anglorum Henrico V<sup>to</sup> in pago de Maunt<sup>4</sup> adhuc permanente, Ricardum comitem Warw'ychie stipatum mille viris armatorum ad regem Gallorum pro Katerina filia sua regi matrimonialiter copulanda ad sanctum Dionisium<sup>5</sup> misit ubi rex Francorum protunc moram*

<sup>1</sup> Sic in MS. Read 'conductoris.'

<sup>2</sup> 'Ad suam predam' occurs at the foot of f. 276v. as a catchword (end of quire.)

<sup>3</sup> Below, p. 184.

<sup>4</sup> Recte Vernon.

<sup>5</sup> 8 April.

traxit. Set dum comes antedictus versus regem Francie, ut premittitur, suum iter assumpsisset, quinque milia armatorum de regnicolis Gallorum<sup>1</sup> in dictum comitem subito irruerunt<sup>2</sup> ut eum caperent vel neci darent plene proposuerunt. Quos omnes dei gratia comes Ricardus cum suis paucis superavit, cepit, occidit et fugavit et ad regem Francorum, periculo illo non obstante, comes impavidus properavit, velle regis sui moroso modulo per singula propalando. Quem rex Francorum cum magna recepit reverencia et muneribus dignis decoravit et ipsum comitem cum suis omnibus per certum tempus rex secum tenuit et regaliter procuravit. Et responso tandem a rege Francorum accepto, dictus comes cum suis omnibus ad villam de Maunt<sup>3</sup> ubi Henricus rex Anglorum prestolabatur<sup>4</sup> festinanter reequitavit et que gesta fuerant Henrico regi cuncta reseravit et<sup>a</sup> quomodo per inimicorum insidias in via fuerat impeditus. Et regis Francorum velle cum eius secreto consilio de nupciis Katerine filie sue comes, regis Anglie ambassiator, retulit eidem in hec verba: Domine mi rex, hoc est velle regis Francorum et difinicio ultima per eius consilium, si matrimonium affectaveritis inter vos et<sup>a</sup> eius filiam Katerinam legitime celebrari, quod vos, pro parte vestra, cum vestro consilio et ipse rex, pro parte sua, cum<sup>a</sup> consilio suo in quodam loco per vos et ipsum limitando, conveniatis ad tractandum in hoc negotio et fideliter diffiniendum et faciendum quod melius et securius fuerit pro utraque parte. Tunc rex Henricus suum consilium convocavit in quo diffinitum fuerat quod ambo reges in quodam campo lato iuxta villam de Drewes<sup>5</sup> convenirent, | (f. 277 v.) utrique rex cum retenemento et consilio suo, et quod duo tentoria pro duobus regibus erigerentur sub divo. Et inter hec duo tentoria, in media distancia illorum,<sup>a</sup> per certum palum locus erat limitatus quem preterire neutra pars deberet subter gravi pena. Ad quem locum preordinatum et sic per palum limitatum isti reges singuli cum centum personis<sup>6</sup> de populo et consilio suo accesserunt et<sup>a</sup> non plures, nam exercitus utriusque regis in suo nobili apparatu post terga

<sup>1</sup> They were under Tannegy du Chastel. The number of the assailants is not given elsewhere, but *Monstrelet* (iii., 313) states that forty of them were killed.

<sup>2</sup> Supply 'qui.'

<sup>3</sup> *Recte* Vernon.

<sup>4</sup> 'prestolobatur,' MS.

<sup>5</sup> The reference is apparently to Dreux. In the following account the negotiations at Meulan and those preparatory to the Treaty of Troyes are confused.

<sup>6</sup> Other writers give other figures.

tentiorum a longe steterunt tractatus, finem prestolantes. Tunc hii duo reges cum eorum consilio sermones suos in longum protraxerunt. Set tandem per consensum et consilium regum utrorumque, post nonnulla pacta et convenciones tacta et disputata, demum pro firma securitate partis utriusque super certis articulis concordatis<sup>1</sup> et conscriptis, dicti reges sua sigilla alternatim apposuerunt. In quibus articulis inter cetera fuerat diffinitum quod rex Anglorum Henricus quintus dominam Katerinam, filiam Regis Francorum, acciperet in uxorem et Anglorum reginam. Quibus peractis et finitis, post hec, cito ante festum ascencionis domini,<sup>2</sup> solempnitas nupciarum dicti regis et regine apud civitatem de Reynes<sup>3</sup> in Campania cum omni solempnitate fuerat completa, presentibus tunc cum rege Henrico V<sup>to</sup> venerabilibus fratribus suis, domino Thoma duce Clarencie, domino Umfrido duce Glovernie, domino Thoma duce Excestr', domino Ricardo comite Warr', domino Gilberto Umferville comite de Kýma, cum aliis multis comitibus, boronibus,<sup>4</sup> militibus,<sup>5</sup> armigeris, cum aliis nonnullis exercitus sui nobilibus in apparatu decentissimo et resentissimo ornatis et paratis. Et hec solempnitas nupciarum et matrimonii peracta fuerat mense Junii anno gratie m<sup>o</sup>cccc<sup>o</sup>xx<sup>o</sup> et anno regni Henrici regis Anglorum vij<sup>o</sup>.<sup>6</sup> Et post hanc solempnitatem rex Anglorum Henricus ad civitatem Parisius ivit ubi multa statuit et plurima proposuit ibidem et ordinavit diversa. Ibi eciam prout voluit turrim edificavit et alia multa disposuit in eadem urbe.

[c<sup>m</sup> xxv<sup>m</sup>.] *De obsidione civitatis de Meloyne.* Quibus expletis<sup>7</sup> rex Henricus pro obsidione nobilis civitatis de Meloyne se et suos properavit. Quo<sup>8</sup> cum rex accessisset dictam urbem in partibus iiij<sup>or</sup> cum quatuor regibus firmiter obsessit, videlicet cum rege Francorum, cum rege Anglorum, rege Scottorum<sup>9</sup> et cum filio regis Naverie.<sup>10</sup> Qui iiij<sup>or</sup> reges in iiij<sup>or</sup> partibus ut predicatur dictam civitatem, vexillis

<sup>1</sup> 'concordati,' MS.

<sup>3</sup> ? Rheims. Recte Rouen.

<sup>6</sup> Supply 'et.'

<sup>7</sup> Incorrect. Melun yielded on 17 Nov., 1420 (*Rym.*, x., 29-30). Henry did not enter Paris until 1 Dec.

<sup>8</sup> Margin: 'Meloyne.'

<sup>10</sup> Incorrect. In *North Chron.*, p. 289, mention is made of a 'Karolus de Navernia, frater regis Navernie' who died at the siege of Fresmay in 1420. Strecche is probably referring to Louis III, Duke of Bavaria (*Gesta*, p. 144; *Eng. Hist. Lit.*, p. 319).

<sup>2</sup> 16 May (1420).

<sup>4</sup> Sic in MS

<sup>5</sup> Recte 'anno viij<sup>o</sup>.'

<sup>9</sup> James. I.

suis erectis et explosis, iugiter obsesserunt. Ad huius namque civitatis obsidionem dominus Iohannes dux Bedeford' de Anglia venit cum nobilissimo suo retenemento et recenti comitiva,<sup>1</sup> ex cuius retenemento, infra tempus breve adventus eorum ad obsidionem antedictam, ex mala eorum gubernacione ut in cibis et potibus insanis et inconvenientibus fluxu ventris et variis langoribus v milia<sup>2</sup> descesserunt, et ceteri eorum infirmabantur, vix ad vitam convalescentes. Ad istius eciam urbis obsidionem londonienses maximam domino regi Henrico miserunt falaricam quam fabricari London' fecerunt et suis propriis expensis eam ad civitatem Meloyne transmiserunt, que falarica London vocabatur. | (f. 278) Que cum ad<sup>a</sup> dictam obsidionem advecta fuisset, rex continuo pulverem in eam mitti iussit et lapidem grandem in eius ore poni et igni accendi. Et sic semel in civitatem lapidem magnum valde terribiliter sagittavit, qui lapis seriem longam domorum per quarterium fere unius miliaris in quodam vico civitatis contrivit et prostravit, unde falarica antedicta in hoc<sup>3</sup> iactu primo fracta fuit et in partes penitus divisa. Unde cives universi dicte civitatis timore tali fuerant concussi, quod mallent cicius civitatem sursum regi reddere quam vellent iterata vice talem terrorem sustinere. Quapropter postquam dicti iiij<sup>or</sup> reges dictam urbem per insultus plurimos sepius fatigassent et per xxvij<sup>to</sup><sup>4</sup> septimanas obsedissent, cives urbis antedicte se et civitatem cum omnibus in ea Henrico regi Anglorum quinto humiliter submiserunt et civitatem ad regis voluntatem reddiderunt anno regni regis Henrici V<sup>ti</sup> supradicti. Huius civitatis obsidione facta et finita rex Henricus quintus in regnum Anglie proposuit transfretare cum Caterina nobili regina sua et circa purificationis festum beate Marie virginis<sup>5</sup> rex Henricus ad Sondwȳcum<sup>6</sup> cum suis in Angliam applicuit. Cui clerus regni cum optimatibus terre apud Cantuariam cum reverencia obviavit et regem Henricum cum sua regina ad Eltham conduxerunt. Et post hec rex Henricus cum regina in decenti apparatu ad civitatem Londoniarum simul convenerunt ubi multa insignia, spectacula et opere curiosa, primo ad pontem London', deinde in aliis locis urbis spectabili-

<sup>1</sup> See Wylie, *op. cit.*, iii., 211; Newhall, p. 207 sq.

<sup>2</sup> An exaggeration. The total reinforcements were only between two and three thousand. (Newhall, p. 208.)

<sup>3</sup> 'hac,' MS.

<sup>4</sup> Incorrect. The siege lasted from 13 July to 17 Nov, 1420. For the story of the gun, *v. sup.*, p. 144.

<sup>5</sup> 2 Feb.

<sup>6</sup> Sandwich. *Recte* Dover.

bus fuerant erecta, facta, ficta et ordinata, in complacenciam et honorem adventus Henrici regis et regine. Que rex omnia perinpendens oblacione facta ad Sanctum Paulum, rex ad Westmonasterium cum suis directe equitavit, ubi post hec rex Henricus, quam cito comode potuit, circa festum sancti Ceadde<sup>1</sup> in quadragesima Katerinam, uxorem suam, filiam regis Francorum<sup>2</sup> in reginam Anglie fecit coronari.

[c<sup>m</sup> xxvi<sup>m</sup>.] *Quomodo rex Henricus quintus, postquam de Francia venerat et regina coronata fuerat, per civitates Anglie equitavit.* Hiis omnibus cum debita solempnitate patratis et completis, rex Henricus cum paucis ad modum per regnum suum Anglie particulariter equitavit.<sup>3</sup> Primo ad Bristolliam, deinde ad alias civitates in partibus Anglie australibus et occidentalibus rex elaboravit. Et sic ad castellum suum dilectum de Kenilleworth<sup>4</sup> declinavit et manerium suum de Plesantmaris, quod ipse rex de palude solidaverat,<sup>5</sup> protunc visitavit. Et sic ad civitatem Coventree properavit, dein ad Leyrcestriam, ubi adventum regine rex pro tempore expectavit. Regina vero,<sup>a</sup> post discessum suum a Westmonasterio, iter suum arripuit versus Leyrcestriam per Hertfordiam, Budefordiam<sup>6</sup> et Northamptonam, deinde ad Leyrcestriam, ubi regi Henrico regina<sup>6</sup> obviavit in vigilia dominice in ramis palmarum.<sup>7</sup> Et in illa civitate rex et regina festum pasche<sup>8</sup> illo anno solempniter tenuerunt. Quo finito rex cum suis versus partes boriales concito properavit. Primo ad urbem de Notyngnam, dein ad opidum Pontisfracti et sic | (f. 278v) ad civitatem Eboris, ad Biverlacum<sup>9</sup> eciam et sic ad Lincolniam civitatem ubi tunc temporis Ricardus episcopus Lincolnensis<sup>10</sup> in episcopum dicte civitatis fuerat installatus. Verumtamen<sup>11</sup> dum rex Henricus in illa civitate aliquantulum expectaret,<sup>12</sup> letteras habuit de partibus transmarinis quod dominus Thomas dux Clarencie frater eius, qui locum tenens fuerat in Francia et Normannia domini regis in eius

<sup>1</sup> 2 March.

<sup>3</sup> *V. sup.*, p. 143.

<sup>5</sup> Bedford.

<sup>7</sup> 16 March.

<sup>9</sup> Beverley. The writer of the *Northern Chron.* (in *Eng. Hist. Lit.*, p. 290) adds Bridlington.

<sup>10</sup> Richard Flemming. (*D.N.B.*, xix., 283.)

<sup>11</sup> Margin: 'nota de morte ducis Clarenc'.

<sup>12</sup> But see *North. Chron.*, *loc. cit.*; *Vita*, p. 304.

<sup>2</sup> Margin: 'apud Westmonasterium.'

<sup>4</sup> See *Lib. Met.*, p. 101.

<sup>6</sup> *Sic in MS.*

<sup>8</sup> 23 March.



absencia, in vigilia pasche proxima precedente iuxta villam de Pount Large in Normannia fuerat interfectus una cum comite de Kȳma Gilberto de Umfervilla et domino de Toes,<sup>1</sup> cum aliis nobilibus ex eius comitiva. Et dominus comes Huntendonie,<sup>2</sup> tunc eciam ibi, fuit captus. Nam hii omnes in numero pauci, nichil tale premeditantes, quasi inermes versus Pontem Largum equitarunt ubi domina ducissa Clarencie<sup>3</sup> protunc morabatur. Quod considerans quidam miles, Andreas nomine de Lumbardia, qui cum duce Clarencie quondam stipendiarius fuit, a quo milite dominus dux antedictus predam quamdam abstulerat ad villam de Pounteys, ut predicatur in tercio capitulo precedente,<sup>4</sup> in ipsum ducem cum manu valida subdole dolose et subito irruit et invasit omni carentem auxilio. Et ipsum ducem nece stravit et alios cepit et interfecit anno incarnationis domini m<sup>o</sup>cccc<sup>o</sup>xxj<sup>o</sup> in vigilia pasche et regni regis Henrici V<sup>ti</sup> anno viij<sup>o</sup>. Cuius corpus, plumbo involutum, ad ecclesiam Christi Cantuarie<sup>5</sup> fuerat deportatum et ibi in sargosago honorifice est<sup>a</sup> tumulatum. Cuius anima in pace quiescat in eternum Amen. O deus omnipotens, quam fallax et fragilis est mundi gloria, cuius prosperitas est transsitorea.<sup>6</sup> Tam cito labitur eius potencia ut vasa figuli que sunt fragilia. Nam inter cetera pandit poeta versus<sup>a</sup>: Fortuitos casus non est vitare volentum. Micia cum duris mixta venire solent.<sup>7</sup> Scito pro modico magna perire solent. Verumtamen rex Henricus, pro morte fratris sui valde contristatus, a civitate discedens Lincolnia, per villas de Linna<sup>8</sup> et Walsingham venit ad Northwȳcum civitatem et per alias urbes et oppida London' properavit. Et regina Katerina de Leyrcestria ad London' iter carpsit per Staunfordiam,<sup>9</sup> Huntȳngdoniam, Cantebriggiam et Colcestrie civitatem et sic domino regi<sup>a</sup> London' iterum obviavit. De quibus

<sup>1</sup> John Lord Roos of Hamlake.

<sup>2</sup> John Holland, Earl of Huntingdon. He remained in captivity for five years. (*Comp. Peerage*, ed. V. Gibbs and others, v. 206, and note *h.*)

<sup>3</sup> Margaret Holland, Duchess of Clarence. Her death did not take place until 1439. She was buried near her husband (Thomas) (*Ibid.*, iii., pp. 259-260; *Eng. Hist. Lit.*, pp. 339, 340). She is mentioned in the *Latin Brut* as being present at the siege of Melun (*Eng. Hist. Lit.*, p. 319).

<sup>4</sup> *V. sup.*, p. 180.

<sup>5</sup> Christ Church Priory, Canterbury.

<sup>6</sup> *Sic* in MS.

<sup>7</sup> *Add. MS.* 38665, f. 92v., ll. 9-10; T. Wright, *Satirical Poets of Twelfth Century*, p. 21, where the two lines are reversed. They are taken from the *Speculum Stultorum*.

<sup>8</sup> Lynn.

<sup>9</sup> Stamfordham.

civitatibus taliter visitatis rex et regina munera preciosa auri et argenti a civibus et prelatibus urbium receperunt. Porro post hoc, cum rex London' pervenisset, statim apud Westmonasterium suum assignavit parliamentum et archiepiscopus Cantuar' insuper cleri convocacionem in qua una decima et dimidia a clero fuit concessa et soluta.<sup>1</sup> Et in dicto eciam parlamento a regnicolis unam quintamdecimam et dimidiam rex petiit et recepit.<sup>2</sup> Preterea a regni potencioribus, ut mercatoribus et episcopis, abbatibus et prioribus, magnam pecuniarum prestacionem rex exegit et habuit.<sup>3</sup> Quibus concessis et receptis rex et regina cum sua familia | (f. 279) circa festum nativitatis sancti Iohannis Baptiste<sup>4</sup> ad Calisiam transfretarunt.

[c<sup>m</sup> xxvij<sup>m</sup>.] *In hoc capitulo ultimo notatur de nativitate regis Henrici vij<sup>ti</sup> ed de fine et morte patris eius Henrici regis V<sup>ti</sup>.* Preterea cum rex Henricus quintus cum suis ad Calisiam pervenisset sanus et incolumis, reginam Katerinam cum sua familia rex ibidem dimisit et ad civitatem Parisiensem inpiger rex transivit<sup>5</sup> ubi nonnulla pro regni Francie gubernacione disposuit et precogitavit. Quietis semper impaciens et diversa disponens in labore gravi, rex tamen iterum ad Calisiam rediit ad reginam Katerinam. Et cum rex cognovisset quod regina esset inpregnata<sup>6</sup> eam concito in Angliam misit cum sua familia, que apud Westmonasterium<sup>7</sup> moram traxit usque ad prolis partum. Et V<sup>to</sup> die<sup>8</sup> mensis Decembris, in festo sancti Nicholai episcopi et confessoris, natus est regi Henrico V<sup>to</sup> filius eius Henricus, inclita proles regia ex utraque parte parentis genorositate<sup>9</sup> clarens, quem magister Henricus Beuford, episcopus Wynton',<sup>10</sup> avunculus Henrici regis quinti, de sacra fonte levavit et Henricum nominavit, anno gratie m<sup>o</sup>cccc<sup>o</sup>xxij<sup>o</sup> et regni regis Henrici V<sup>ti</sup> ix<sup>o</sup>. Qui rex, cum ortum filii sui per nuncios audisset fidedignos, gavisus fuit valde et, nobilissimo exercitu suo adunato, ad obsidionem

<sup>1</sup> The Convocation of Canterbury, which met on 5 May, voted a tenth to the King, half to be collected at Martinmas, and the other half a year later (*Conc.*, iii., 399).

<sup>2</sup> Incorrect. No subsidy was voted by the Parliament of May, 1421.

<sup>3</sup> See Wylie, *op. cit.*, iii., 273-275.

<sup>4</sup> 24 June.

<sup>5</sup> *Sic* in MS.

<sup>6</sup> *Sic* in MS.

<sup>7</sup> 'Windsorham,' which is correct, has been inserted above 'Westmonasterium' in the MS.

<sup>8</sup> *Recte* 6 Dec.

<sup>9</sup> *Sic* in MS.

<sup>10</sup> Henry Beaufort, Bishop of Winchester. But Archbishop Chichele baptised the prince; Beaufort was a godparent.

civitatis Meldensis in Bryes<sup>1</sup> quam tocius migravit. Quam urbem per insultus varios multociens rex infestavit et illam tandem superavit non sine discrimine nobilium personarum eam tamen cepit et de illa civitate protunc ut sibi placuit disposuit et ordinavit. Et eodem anno circa festum pasche<sup>2</sup> rex in Angliam misit pro regina Katerina ut ad eum in Franciam cicius properaret. Quo cum regina pervenisset cum eo<sup>3</sup> fuit usque in diem mortis Henrici regis. Veruntamen anno x<sup>mo</sup> regni regis Henrici incipiente, in mense Augusti circa festum sancti Laurencii martiris,<sup>4</sup> rex Henricus V<sup>us</sup> in tantam incidit infirmitatem ex nimio ut putabatur labore de qua omnes sui medici et fici<sup>5</sup> eum nequiverant relevare. Set corpore consumpto et membris debilitatis, cum regnasset ix annis, octo mensibus, tribus septimanis et tribus diebus,<sup>6</sup> in quodam castello Francie nobilissimo in decore et robore fortissimo quod Boes Vincent<sup>6</sup> nominatur ij<sup>o</sup> Kalendas Septembris<sup>7</sup> diem clausit extremum. Cuius corpus de Francia in Angliam cum debita solempnitate deferebatur et apud Westmonasterium in tumba ibidem nobilissima et ditissima collocatur, non longe a tumba sancti Edwardi regis et confessoris, anno gratie m<sup>o</sup>cccc<sup>o</sup>xxij<sup>o</sup>. Cuius anime deus omnipotens miseriatu Amen. In laudem regis huius Henrici quinti istius operis compilerator versus sequentes promisit et composuit :

Hic rex Henricus in bellis semper apricus,  
 Rex fuit Anglorum, lux et laus preteritorum,  
 Necnon Francorum rex et flos belligerorum,  
 Et Normannorum dignus dux omnigenorum,  
 Omnis honoris onos, decor et decus urbis et orbis,  
 Milicie splendor, gloria, lumen, apex,  
 Iulius ingenio, virtutibus Hector, Achilles | (f. 279v.).  
 Viribus, Augustus moribus, ore Paris.  
 Hic alter Salamon<sup>8</sup> in sensu seria dando,  
 Troilus in caro cordis amore fuit.  
 Heu, talem legem quod mors crudelis haberet,  
 Qua tantum regem per morbida tela deleret.  
 Henrico quinto si mors armata venisset  
 Militis in modulo mors, estimo, victa fuisset  
 Nam rex in bello nunquam fuit hic superatus  
 Set fortunatus victor ubique stetit.

<sup>1</sup> Meaux in Brie. Margin : 'Civitas Meldem.'

<sup>2</sup> 12 April. <sup>3</sup> 10 Aug. <sup>4</sup> Sic in MS. Read 'physici.'

<sup>5</sup> Recte 9 years 5 months 3 weeks and (approx.) 3 days.

<sup>6</sup> Bois de Vincennes.

<sup>7</sup> Henry died early in the morning of Monday, 31 Aug. (*Rym.*, x., 253).

<sup>8</sup> 'Hic alter Salamon.' The same words with which he characterises King Edgar (*Add. MS.* 35295, f. 241v.).

## THE SPANISH MANUSCRIPTS IN THE JOHN RYLANDS LIBRARY.

By MOSES TYSON, M.A., Ph.D.

KEEPER OF WESTERN MANUSCRIPTS IN THE JOHN RYLANDS LIBRARY.

THE manuscripts in the Library, written in Spanish, are few in number, but, though they do not include any volumes of outstanding importance, are of considerable interest. They are described in detail below, and it will be sufficient here to call attention to the valuable collection of texts of well-known Spanish chronicles (1), and to the historical writings of Esteban de Garibay (9-25). Garibay was appointed royal historiographer by Philip II of Spain. He has been regarded, not unjustly, as a "credulous compiler of old fables," but none the less is frequently followed by the great historian of Spain—Juan de Mariana.

Other manuscripts are of value to the philologist and to the genealogist.

The Latin manuscripts written in Spain include several which rank high among surviving Visigothic MSS., both as early texts and as examples of early Spanish calligraphy and illumination. They have been described by Dr. M. R. James in the first two volumes of the *Descriptive Catalogue of Latin Manuscripts in the John Rylands Library* (1921). A few additional notes on several of them may be given here.

Latin MS. 104 is the Commentary on the Rule of St. Benedict, by Smaragdus, abbot of St. Mihiel, in the diocese of Verdun. Smaragdus died early in the ninth century. It was suggested that the manuscript was a volume described by Francisco de Berganza in his *Antigüedades de España* (1719),<sup>1</sup> which since Berganza's day had lost the end folio with a colophon recording that it was written in

<sup>1</sup>Vol. I, p. 215.

A.D. 945 by a certain John, monk of Silos. I have, however, recently examined the Silos volume with the colophon; it is one of the chief surviving treasures still preserved in the Library of the monastery of Santo Domingo de Silos.<sup>1</sup> It is probable that the Rylands MS. is earlier in date than that of Silos and goes back to the end of the ninth century. Dr. Lowe in his *Studia Palæographica*<sup>2</sup> assigns it to "saec. ix. ex. ut uidetur."

Latin MS. 83 is St. Gregory's "Moralia in Job". Several notes show that the MS. was written in Spain by a scribe named Gomez: on f. 142 is written "quisquis hunc librum ob utilitatem tui legeris. ut ex eo edificeris. mei Gomesanis peccatoris. In tuis orationibus commendatum habeto." Dr. James identifies this with a volume recorded by Berganza (Vol. I, p. 177) as being at S. Pedro de Cardena, near Burgos, and having the ending: "Explicit foeliciter Liber Moraliū Papæ Gregorīi, pars ultima: Deo gratias, Gomez Diaconus, peccator, hoc opus Era DCCCC.LII. VI. Kalend. Decembris, ob iussionem Domni Damiani Abbatis praescripsi." The evidence for identification is strong, but the last folio has unfortunately disappeared, and there are certain marked differences in the writing of the Rylands MS. and that of the British Museum Additional MS. 25600, which, as Dr. James points out, was written in A.D. 919 by the same scribe referred to by Berganza: "Gomez diaconus peccator . . . era DCCCCL<sup>a</sup> VII, VI kalendas decembris ob iussionem domini mei damiani abbatis perscribi hoc volumen." In the Rylands MS., for example, there is no *ti*-distinction made by the original scribe, though a later corrector makes the distinction, *e.g.* *acojo* (f. 58); also the shafts of the tall letters are clubbed. In the British Museum MS. the distinction is made, and the shafts of the tall letters have serifs, small strokes running obliquely from left to right.<sup>3</sup> With some hesitation I venture to suggest that the Rylands MS. was not the one seen by Berganza, that it is a little earlier in date, perhaps even late ninth century, and that there were two scribes named Gomez. Incidentally bound up with Latin MS. 89, which seems to have come from S. Pedro de Cardena, there are two

<sup>1</sup> See D. Marius Férotin, *Histoire de l'abbaye de Silos* (1897), p. 259; also Charles Upson Clark, *Collectanea Hispanica* (Transactions of the Connecticut Academy of Arts and Sciences, Vol. XXIV), p. 58.

<sup>2</sup> *Sitzungsberichte der Königlich Bayerischen Akademie*, 1910, pp. 62-63.

<sup>3</sup> See E. A. Lowe, *op. cit.*, pp. 69, 80.



leaves of a tenth-century MS. of St. Gregory's "Moralia in Job," by a scribe who observed the *ti*-distinction and added serifs to the shafts of the tall letters.

Latin MS. 89 is the work of Cassiodorus "Super Psalmos." Bound up with it are three leaves of a Kalendar evidently from the Abbey of Cardena. This MS. also seems to correspond with a volume described by Berganza, but again the end folio is now missing. Berganza (Vol. I, p. 222) informs us that the explicit, which was in Greek characters, ran as follows: "Explicitus est Liber iste a Notario Sebastiano Diacono notum prae fixationis diem, quartodecimo Kalendas Februarii, Era. DCCCC.LXXX.VII. regnante Serenissimo Rege Ramiro in Legione, et egregio Comite Fredinando Gundisalvi in Castella, atque Pontificatum gerente Basilio Episcopo Sedis Munnioni Castelli." He notes also that on the second folio, in Greek letters, was the inscription: "O bone Lector charissime, Misselli Endurae Presbyteri, sui Scriptoris, tua in prece mei memento. Amen," which, as Dr. James notes, is evidently that given in Greek capital letters in column 2 of the Rylands MS., *i.e.*, "O bone lector carissime misello Endora presbyter seu scriptoris tua in prece mei memento. Amen." Berganza was possibly not a very exact copyist.

The other noteworthy Spanish manuscript, described by Dr. James, is the Commentary of Beatus on the Apocalypse (Latin MS. 8), written in the second half of the twelfth century. The many miniatures are full of interest, and make up in vigour and boldness of design what they lack in beauty. The text seems to be complete, an occurrence comparatively rare in the pre-thirteenth-century MSS. of this work.<sup>1</sup>

It is necessary, in discussing the Spanish MSS. in the Library, to refer to three so-called "Mozarabic" MSS., once in the Libri Collection. They are described in full in Sotheby's catalogue of the Libri sale on June 1, 1864, of which they were lots 48, 49, and 50, and are there supposed to belong to the seventh century. They are very thick skins. One begins: "Moxerelabulabnostraprigeniseius-patermaterambulare, *etc.*, without any word-division; another is of a mathematical character and begins: Vissexetviginti. Unusetvissex-etviginti, *etc.* There are rude drawings of miscellaneous subjects, one

<sup>1</sup> Cf. H. A. Sandars, *Beati in Apocalipsin Libri XII* (Vol. VII, Papers and Monographs of the American Academy in Rome, 1930).

of a battle, the combatants wielding axes or using bows and arrows, others of human figures apparently wearing feathered head-dresses. The description of these mysterious MSS. must be left to someone more skilled in such matters, but to me they appear many hundreds of years later in date, and possibly of a Spanish-American origin.

In the descriptions of manuscripts given below, the spelling of the MSS. is followed in all citations.

Most of the MSS. were at one time in the Library of the Earls of Crawford and Balcarres.

1. (Crawford 4.) CRÓNICAS DE ESPAÑA. (f. 1) Comiença el prologo e capitulo primero de lo que enbio desir el arçobispo de toledo don rrodrigo al Rey don fernando. Muy noble Rey e alto sennor bien auenturado don fernando por la graçia de dios Rey de castilla e de leon [de toledo *added later*] e de murçia e de iahen de cordoua y de seuilla de galisia y de merida . . . (*cap. i-clxxxvi*). (f. 111) Fenesçe la historia de los godos que es la primera parte e comiença la segunda parte que es llamada historia de los rreyes de castilla despues de la destruycion de espanna y del rrey don rrodrigo. El primer capitulo cuenta de don pelayo que fue primero Rey. Estando todo espanna tan triste y tan cuytada de los muchos quebrantos . . . (f. 209) . . . enterraronlo con su muger teresa (*cap. i-cxxxix*). (f. 210) Comiença la historia del Rey don fernando el magno despues que fue muerto el rrey don bermudo de leon. En este primer capitulo cuenta como fue rreçebido en leon e en todo el rreyno por rrey e sennor como lo era de castilla. Capitulo primero. Despues que fue muerto el rrey don bermudo de leon . . . (f. 237) . . . el pleyto. Mas agora dexaremos de fablar en esto e diremos del rrey don alonso (*cap. i-xxxi*). (f. 238) Comiença la historia del Rey don alonso el que gano a toledo y en este capitulo dize como quando vino de toledo donde estaua fuydo a çamora lo rreçebieron por rey e por sennor en el rreyno de leon e de castilla e de galisia e portogal asy como lo tenia el rrey don fernando su padre. Capitulo primero. Despues que el rrey don alonso salio . . . (*cap. i-cxxviii*). (f. 360, o.n. 362). Como el Rey don alonso de aragon ouo el rreyno de castilla por la rreyna donna urraca su muger. Capitulo primero. Quando el Rey don alonso . . . (f. 361, o.n. 363) Capitulo clxvij. Como el conde don gomes ouo un fijo en la rreyna que ouo nombre don furtado de qui vienen los furtados de castilla. Los

castellanos luego . . . (f. 362, o.n. 364) Comiença la historia del rrey don alonso nieto del que gano a toledo que le llamo emperador e fijo del conde don rremon de tolosa e desta donna urraca. En este primer capitulo dize como le sacaron de galizia e le alçaron por rrey por temor de las cosas de don pedro de lara. Capitulo primero. Regelandose los castellanos . . . (*cap. i-ix, old numbering of last eight chapters was clxix-clxxvi*). (f. 368<sup>v</sup>, o.n. 370<sup>v</sup>) . . . la yglesia catredal de toledo. [Primero *added later*] Capitulo [clxxviii<sup>o</sup> *erased*]. Como rreyno el rrey don sancho despues de su padre el emperador don alonso. Muerto el emperador don alonso . . . (*cap. i-iii, old numbering clxxviii-clxxx*). (f. 371, o.n. 375) Comiença la historia del rrey don alonso fijo del Rey don sancho el deseado el que vencio las nauas de tolosa et en el primer capitulo cuenta de la manera que touieron los condes de lara por sacarle de poder de gutierre fernandes que lo tenia en poder para lo tener ellos por que era muy ninno quando començo a rreynar. Capitulo primero. Despues de la muerte del Rey don sancho . . . (*cap. i-xlviii*). (f. 416<sup>v</sup>, o.n. 420<sup>v</sup>) [Primero *added later*] capitulo [xlx *erased*]. Como rreyno don enrique despues que murio su padre. Muerto e soterrado . . . (*Chapter numberings xlix, ccxx-ccxxii, partly erased*). (f. 419, o.n. 423) . . . a grand priesa. Esto fasta aqui va como lo escriuio el arçobispo de toledo don rrodrigo. Et de qui adelante va como lo escriuieron otros autores. (f. 419<sup>v</sup>, o.n. 423<sup>v</sup>). Comiença la historia del sancto Rey don fernando e en este primer capitulo cuenta como todos los del rreyno de castilla e de las estremaduras obedescieron por rreyna y senora a donna berenguela muger del rrey de leon e fiia heredera del muy noble rrey don alonso de castilla e como ella lo rrenunçio luego en su fijo don fernando. Acabadas las rrasones . . . (*cap. i-xx*). (f. 440, o.n. 444) Aqui se acaba la historia de lo que el arçobispo don rrodrigo fiso. Capitulo xxi de como el arçobispo don rrodrigo se espide de fablar en este libro da logar adelante a los otros que escriuan lo que passo adelante. Dise el arçobispo de toledo don rrodrigo e primado de las espannas que esta historia conpuso en latin . . . (*cap. i-ciii*). (f. 474<sup>v</sup>, o.n. 477<sup>v</sup>) . . . en conpanna de los sus santos sieruos. [Reyno xxxv annos y començo a Reynar de xviii<sup>o</sup> murio aviendo liij annos . . . Despues que el Rey don hernando . . . (f. 475, o.n. 478) fuera de la ciudad *added*

later]. (f. 477, o.n. 480) Comiença la coronica del Rey don alonso el sabio fiio del sancto Rey don fernando que gano a seuilla. Prologo. E por que en muchas guisas . . . (cap. i-xlvi). (f. 545<sup>v</sup>, o.n. 548) . . . la rreyna donna bea tris su madre. El testamento que el rrey don alonso fizo va aqui abreuiado por que es muy luengo. En el nombre del padre . . . (f. 546, o.n. 549) . . . en la cibdad de auila. Feneçe la historia del rrey don alonso el sabio e comiença la de su fijo el rrey don sancho el brauo. (f. 546<sup>v</sup>, o.n. 549<sup>v</sup>) Del primer testamento que el rey don alonso fizo en que maldixo al infante don sancho su fijo. . . . (*This insertion is in a different hand.*) (f. 550) Del segundo testamento que el rey don alonso fizo en que hordeno sus debdas e fecho de su alma. En el nombre de padre. . . . (f. 552<sup>v</sup>) . . . desto mismo sennor. (f. 553, o.n. 552) Comiença la historia del Rey don sancho al qual llamaron vnos brauo otros el fuerte fijo del rrey don alonso el sabio e nieto del rrey don fernando el que gano a seuilla. Et en este primer capitulo cuenta de como estando el en auila sopo de la muerte del rrey don alonso su padre e como se fizo alçar por rrey e sennor de todos los rreynos de castilla y de leon yc. Capitulo primero. Estando el infante . . . (cap. i-x). (f. 576<sup>v</sup>, o.n. 575<sup>v</sup>) . . . el cuerpo el rrey don sancho. (f. 578, o.n. 577) Comiença la historia del Rey don fernando fijo del rrey don sancho el brauo e nieto del rrey alonso el sabio. Et en este primer capitulo cuenta de como le alçaron por rrey e lo juraron en toledo. Capitulo primero e cuenta de todo lo acaesçido en este primer anno de su Reynado en este dicho primer capitulo. Despues que ouieron enterrado . . . (cap. i-xvi, change of hand from middle of cap. x to end of volume). . . . (f. 659<sup>v</sup>, o.n. 668<sup>v</sup>) . . . que Reyno quinse annos e quatro meses e honse dias en parayso sea la su alma amen. Deo gratias. (f. 660<sup>v</sup>) Tabla de lo que en este libro se contiene primeramente.

Paper. ff. 673 + iii. 280 × 197 mm. xvith cent.

\* \* In double columns. On f. 660 are notes in a later hand beginning : *Las Reynas que an heredado en espanna, los reynos hasta el tempo presente que es anno del nacimiento de nuestro Salvador ihesu christo de mill y quincentos y quarenta y cinco annos. . . .* At the foot of f. 1 is written : *Frai Diego de Guelvar Prior de la Cartuxa de Santa Maria de las Cuevas y visitador de la Provincia certifico, Que este libro, es de los que dexo El Marques de Tarifa de buena memoria*

a este Convento con los demas de su libreria. F<sup>a</sup> en las Cuevas a primero de Enero de mil y seiscientos y veinte y ocho anos. Fr. diego de guelva prior y visitador. On both covers are stamped the arms of the Right Hon. Charles Stuart, 1st Baron Stuart de Rothesay. Ff. 1-209 vary only slightly from the printed translation of the Bishop of Burgos, Don Gonzalo de la Hinojosa, see the *Crónica de España del Arzobispo Don Rodrigo Jiménez de Rada* (Colección de documentos inéditos para la historia de España, Tomo CV, 1893), pp. 1-378. Ff. 210-271, 272v-356v have some variants and abbreviations, but otherwise closely resemble the text, edited by Ramón Menéndez Pidal, of the *Primera Crónica General de España* (Nueva Biblioteca de Autores Españoles, 5 (1906)), pp. 482 col. 2—558 col. 1, and 560 col. 1—643 col. 2. Two pages (ff. 271v, 272) are blank, resulting in the omission corresponding to part of chap. 887, chaps. 888-889, and part of chap. 890 of the printed text. Ff. 356v-357v contain a chapter beginning: *Capitulo cxxii, De lo que contesçio con el rrey de nauarra al abad de sant pedro de cardenna despues de mucho tiempo. Segund cuenta el arçobispo don rrodrigo e el sabio don lucas de tuy en la historia de espanna.* . . . For ff. 357v-359v see the *Primera Crónica General*, pp. 643 col. 2—645 col. 2; for ff. 360 (o.n. 362)—370v (o.n. 372v) see the *Crónica de España del Arzobispo Don Rodrigo Jiménez de Rada*, pp. 420-440; for ff. 371 (o.n. 375)—375 (o.n. 379), 385 (o.n. 389)—389 (o.n. 393), 393 (o.n. 397)—406v (o.n. 410v), 419v (o.n. 423v)—474v (o.n. 477v) compare *Primera Crónica General*, pp. 668-672, 672-676, 676-694, 713-774, respectively; for ff. 407 (o.n. 411)—419 (o.n. 423) see *Crónica de España*, pp. 467-492. Ff. 477 (o.n. 480)—659v (o.n. 668v) contain an abbreviated version, compare *Crónicas de los Reyes de Castilla desde Don Alfonso el Sabio, hasta los Católicos Don Fernando y Doña Isabel. Colección ordenada por Don Cayetano Rosell. Tomo primero* (Biblioteca de Autores Españoles . . . LXVI), pp. 3-170, covering the reigns of Alfonso X, Sancho IV, and Fernando IV only. For other Chronicle MSS. see Ramón Menéndez Pidal, *Crónicas Generales de España* (Real Biblioteca, Madrid, Catálogo 5), and J. Zarco Cuevas, *Catálogo de los manuscritos Castellanos de la Real Biblioteca de El Escorial, Vols. I-III* (1924-1929).

2. (Crawford 5.) APONTE, FRANCISCO GERONIMO DE. *Genealogias illustres de las familias mas insignes de España con sus principios, acrescentamientos, Diuisas y estados que poseen; ordenadas Por Fran<sup>co</sup> (sic) Geronimo de Aponte.* (f. 3) *Indice de las Casas, Titulos y apellidos que contiene este libro de las Illustres Familias de España por el orden del A.B.C.* (f. 5, o.n. 1) *Al Catholico muy Alto y Poderoso Don Carlos Principe de España segundo de este nombre. Hauer siempre hauido en todos tiempos . . .* (f. 7, o.n. 3) *A los Grandes e Illustres de España. Fueron entre los hebreos . . .* (f. 10, o.n. 6) *Reyes de*



Nauarra. Los Reyes de Nauarra Proceden . . . (f. 517) Indice de los Apellidos y Titulos, etc.

Paper. ff. 518 + iv. 295 × 207 mm. Late xvith cent.

\* \* On f. 1<sup>v</sup> a note on the author and the MS. ends ". . . cuando este volumen no sea original, parece Copia de aquellos tiempos bien correcta, de mucho valor. Madrid, a 26 de Julio de 1818. Diego Rabadan." Spaces have been left, evidently for coats-of-arms. For this work, which sometimes bears the title *Lucero de Nobleza*, see Nicolao Antonio, *Bibliotheca Hispana Nova*, II (1788), p. 201, under *Petrus Hieronymus de Aponte*. Antonio refers to a MS. in the library of the Count of Villa Umbrosa.

3. (Crawford 6.) GARCIA DE SALAZAR, LOPE. [Linajes de España.] (f. 1, o.n. 10) Reinos de Castilla de Leon que de algo . . . (f. 64<sup>v</sup>, o.n. 73) . . . de Martin de lattore de Palenza. (f. 65, o.n. 74) Guecho y Martiarto Unidas. J. Ochoa Ortiz con fixa heredera . . . (f. 106, o.n. 115) . . . de Vasquenze Vinagre, etc. (f. 107, o.n. 115) Valieron y Valen fueronlos de Ugarte . . . (f. 131, o.n. 140) . . . que Bechias (*sic*) he oy ganado para( . . . ?) y (ends, see note below).

Paper. ff. 131 + iii. 318 × 213 mm. Early xviih cent.

\* \* For Lope Garcia de Salazar, see N. Antonio, *Bibliotheca Hispana Vetus*, II (1788), pp. 330-331, No. 793 *sqq.* The manuscript is evidently a copy of portions of the work *De las bienandanzas y fortunas*, written in 1471. On f. i is a partly erased note: *Este Libro pertenece a D<sup>n</sup> Pedro Ay( . . . ) y su ermano D<sup>n</sup> Geronimo . . . sobrino; on f. 1, Es del s<sup>or</sup> Don Ju<sup>n</sup> de santelizes Guevara, Cav. del orden de Alcantara, Marques de chilueches; and on f. 131, Tien(e) este libro al presente ciento y treinta y una ochas escritas y es de l'Abbad de S<sup>n</sup> [ . . . ?].*

4. (Crawford 7.) VOCABULARIO PANA-ESPAÑOL. Vocabulario de la lengua Pana, ó Séteba formado en el Pueblo de la Purissima Concepcion del Sarayacu de Manoa, anno de 1795. (f. 2, o.p. 1) A. Acázi. Aceptar, querer, desear . . . (f. 32<sup>v</sup> o.p. 62) Vocabulario de la Lengua Pana reformado. Fragmentos del Arte del Ydioma Conibo, Setevo, Sipivo, y Casivo, ó Comavo. . . .

Paper. ff. 44 (old pagination 1-85); also many blank leaves. 303 × 95 mm. 1795.

5. (Crawford 26.) CARCERES, PEDRO DE. Artezilla dela lengua Otomi. (f. 1) En el nombre del S[ennor] Comiença una Artezilla dela lengua Otomi cogitha delas migajas delos padres bene meritos della y del cornadillo offrecido por el menor delos menores a gloria y alabança de nuestro sennor Jhesu Christo

y dela sagrada virgen su sanctissima madre y vtilidad desta pobre gente. Recopilada por el p[adr]e F. p[edr]o de carceres . . . (f. 57<sup>v</sup>) tapenatzonabate predico muchas vezes, etc.

Paper. ff. 58 + iv, 210 × 150 mm. Late xvith cent.

\* \* The *Arte de la lengua othomi* of Fr. Pedro de Carceres was published by Dr. Nicolás Leon, Mexico, 1907; see the *Boletín Bibliográfico Mexicano*, No. 6, pp. 39-155. Modern binding by Fazakerley, Liverpool.

6. (Crawford 27.) GANDARA, MIGUEL DE LA. *Apuntes sobre el Bien y el Mal de España dimanados de sus Puertas abiertas y Puertas cerradas* por D. Miguel de la Gandara, Cura Parroco del Valle de Liendo en el Obispado de Santander, Arcediano de Cartagena de Levante, y Axente general de Su Magestad en Roma. Anno de 1759. (f. 3) Al Rey Señor. La obediencia, Señor, puso la pluma . . . (f. 4) Al Consejo de Castilla, M.P.S. Vuestra Alteza és por su instituto Tutor de los Pueblos . . . (f. 5) Prologo à la Nacion Española. Señores Compatriotas míos: Varias cosas . . . (f. 9) Introduccion. El gravissimo interés . . . Protexito del Autor. Pero antes de entrar . . . (f. 11) 1. Señores. La Verdaderamente . . . (f. 123<sup>v</sup>) . . . y baste por àora de àpuntes. Omnia sub correctione Sancte Romane Ecclesie. Napoles 5 de Julio de 1759. (f. 124) 142. Ahora devo cumplir con la promesa . . . (f. 138) por cada periodo. (f. 139) Indice.

Paper. ff. 144 + xii. 305 × 205 mm. 1759.

\* \* f. ii. *Lord Clarendon's books* (in pencil).

7. (Spenser 19510.) VOCABULARIO ESPAÑOL-INDIANO. (f. 1) Advertencias para la inteligenzia deste Vocabulario. 1. Para no repetir en los exemplos el mismo vocablo . . . (f. 2) A, del que se duele, o compadece (Guâetè) . . . (f. 604<sup>v</sup>) . . . Chepo açu pipe, con mi mano zurda. Aqui acabo este Vocabulario y realmente con mano zurda, dexando al que tubiere mas destreza el corregirlo, para ayuda delos principiantes à maior gloria de Dios desu SS<sup>a</sup> madre y bien destas almas. Laus Deo. (f. 605) Additamento. . . .

Paper. ff. 605 + iv. 203 × 143 mm. xviith cent.

\* \* f. 1v. 4. Nota en la c. he querido seguir à nuestro maestro el P. Antonio Ruiz, que primero pone ca, co, cu, y despues pone ça, çe. . . . The Jesuit P. Antonio Ruiz de Montoya compiled the *Tesoro de la lengua Guarani que se usa en el Perú, Paraguay y Rio de la Plata*

(Madrid, Juan Sanchez, 1639), and other works on the Guarani language. From the Althorp Library.

8. (Crawford 8.) MEXICO. I. (ff. 1-79<sup>v</sup>) Trage de indio de Mexico. Costumbres, fiestas, entretenimientos y diversas formas de proceder de los indios de Nueva Espanna. (f. 1<sup>v</sup>) India mexicana. (f. 9) Primero de Hebrero. Xilomanaliztli. . . . (f. 79<sup>v</sup>) . . . y acatado de todas, lo mesmo la india. II. (ff. 81-144<sup>v</sup>) Tratado de los Chichimecas de Nueva Espanna. (f. 82) Para escribir desta guerra de los Chichimecas me parecio primero tratar algunas cosas de sus costumbres y manera de vivir. . . . (f. 144<sup>v</sup>) . . . y su nombre sea bendito per infinita secula seculorum. Amen. Fin.

Paper. ff. 146 + iv. 213 × 150 mm. Early sixteenth cent.

\* \* The first work is evidently copied from the sixteenth-century Escorial MS. K. III, 8, ff. 331a-387b (see P. Fr. Julián Zarco Cuevas, *Catálogo de los manuscritos Castellanos de la Real Bibliotheca de el Escorial*, II, pp. 189-194). In both MSS. an addition to the title is the note "*Faltan las pinturas.*" Cuevas discusses the work at considerable length, and compares the Escorial MS. with the fully illustrated *Codex Magliabechiano XIII, 3* (Manuscript Mexican Post-Colombien de la Bibliothèque Nationale de Florence, reproduit en photochromographie au frais du Duc de Loubat, correspondant de l'Institut. Danesi. Rome, MDCCCIV), which is probably taken from the same parent MS. in Mexican hieroglyphs. The second work is copied from the same MS., ff. 392a-418a (see Cuevas, pp. 194-197). The author was Gonzalo de las Casas. The volume was bound by *Hering, 9 Newman Street*, and both covers are stamped with the arms of the Earls of Kingston.

- 9-25. (Crawford 9-25.) GARIBAY Y ZAMALLOA, ESTEBAN DE. Copia de las Obras ineditas de Esteban de Garibay. I, parte I. (f. 1) Los Sesenta Libros del Origen, Discursos, e ilustraciones de las Dignidades Seglares de España Compuestos por Esteban de Garibay, Chronista de los Catholicos Reyes Don Felipe el 2º y su Hijo Don Felipe Tercero. (f. 1<sup>v</sup>) Protexta del Autor. El qual como Hijo obediente de la Santa Yglesia Romana Apostolica Madre nuestra . . . (f. 2) Libro 1º. De todos los Grados de Estados de Gentes en España por el Orden de sus precedencias. Titulo Primero. De dos honores de los Hombres, y que en el Reyno debe haver solo un Rey y seis Estados de Gentes. Haviendo de escribir en esta obra de las Dignidades Seglares de estos Reynos de la Corona Real de Castilla y de Leon la primera es la Real, como suprema à todas las demas; y primeramente trataremos de ella en

esta con la devida brevedad, por haver escrito sus discursos en la de los quarenta Libros del Compendio Historial de las Cronicas y universal Historia de todos los Reynos de España, que imprimimos en Amverez Ciudad del Ducado de Brabante en el año pasado de 1771 (*sic*) precediendo licencia y diversos Privilegios del Catholico Rey Don Felipe Nuestro Señor. . . . (*Several books missing, see below.*) III, parte I. (f. 1) Libro 20. De los Titulos de Condes que dio el Rey Don Enrique el Tercero. No consta que el Rey Don Juan el Primero. . . . (*Several books missing, see below.*) VII, parte IV. (f. 1, o.n. 357) Titulo 10. De Don Fadrique Henriquez de Rivera, primer Marques de Tarifa. . . .

Paper. 17 volumes. 317 × 211 mm. xviii<sup>th</sup> cent.

\* \* The contents of the volumes are as follows:—

- (9) Tomo 1<sup>o</sup>, parte 1<sup>a</sup>. Libros I-VI. ff. 509 + ii.
- (10) Tomo 1<sup>o</sup>, parte 2<sup>a</sup>. Libros VII-X. ff. 606 + iii.  
Tomo 2<sup>o</sup>. Libros XI-XIX. This is missing.
- (11) Tomo 3<sup>o</sup>, parte 1<sup>a</sup>. Libros XX-XXIII. ff. 587 + iii.
- (12) Tomo 3<sup>o</sup>, parte 2<sup>a</sup>. Libros XXIV-XXV. ff. 358 (numbered from 583) + iii.
- (13) Tomo 4<sup>o</sup>, parte 1<sup>a</sup>. Libros XXVI-XXVIII. ff. 514 + iii.
- (14) Tomo 4<sup>o</sup>, parte 2<sup>a</sup>. Libros XXIX-XXXI. ff. 384 (numbered from 511) + iii.
- (15) Tomo 5<sup>o</sup>, parte 1<sup>a</sup>. Libros XXXII-XXXV. ff. 619 + iii.
- (16) Tomo 5<sup>o</sup>, parte 2<sup>a</sup>. Libros XXXVI-XXXVIII. ff. 559 + ii.
- (17) Tomo 6<sup>o</sup>, parte 1<sup>a</sup>. Libros XXXIX-XLI. ff. 526 + ii.
- (18) Tomo 6<sup>o</sup>, parte 2<sup>a</sup>. Libros XLII-XLIII. ff. 506 + ii.
- (19) Tomo 7<sup>o</sup>, parte 1<sup>a</sup>. Libros XLIV-XLVII. ff. 379 + iii.
- (20) Tomo 7<sup>o</sup>, parte 2<sup>a</sup>. Libro XLVIII. ff. 318 (numbered from 371) + iii.  
Tomo 7<sup>o</sup>, parte 3<sup>a</sup>. Libros XLIX, L (parte del). This is missing.
- (21) Tomo 7<sup>o</sup>, parte 4<sup>a</sup>. Libros L (parte del), LI, LII (parte del). ff. 308 (numbered from 357) + iv.
- (22) Tomo 8<sup>o</sup>, parte 1<sup>a</sup>. Libros LII (parte del), LIII, LIV (parte del). ff. 392 + vi.
- (23) Tomo 8<sup>o</sup>, parte 2<sup>a</sup>. Libros LIV (parte del), LV. ff. 318 + viii.
- (24) Tomo 8<sup>o</sup>, parte 3<sup>a</sup>. Libros LVI, LVII, LVIII (parte del). ff. 331 + ix.
- (25) Tomo 8<sup>o</sup>, parte 4<sup>a</sup>. Libros LVIII p(arte del), LIX-LX. ff. 312 + iv.

Libro 6<sup>o</sup> (see MS. 19, f. 405) begins *De los Reyes de Francia Progenitores de los Duques de Borgoña, y de los Catholicos Reyes presentes de España. Titulo 1<sup>o</sup>. De los Autores de este Libro y del siguiente.* For Esteban de Garibay (1525-1593) see N. Antonio, *Bibliotheca His.*

*pana nova*, II (1788), pp. 291-292. His work, *Los quarenta Libros del Compendio Historial de las Chronicas y universal Historia de todos los reinos de España*, mentioned in the text of our MS. (see above), was first published at Antwerp in 1571. In 1596 at Madrid was published the *Ilustraciones Genealogicas de los Catholicos Reyes de las Españas y de los Christianissimos de Francia y de los Emperadores de Constantinopla hasta el Rey D. Felipe II y sus hijos*, which Antonio describes as only part of a great work planned to have not less than 60 books (i.e. *Del Origen y discurso y ilustraciones de las Dignidades seglares de España*). On f. 1<sup>v</sup> of MS. 9 is the following note: *Obras inéditas de Esteban de Garibay, 17 tomos in fol. V. de Astorga (2ª parte), 7 mayo, 1870. C. Lefebvre (640 fr.)*.



## WOODBROOKE STUDIES.

CHRISTIAN DOCUMENTS IN SYRIAC, ARABIC AND GARSHŪNI,  
EDITED AND TRANSLATED WITH A CRITICAL APPARATUS.

By A. MINGANA.

FASCICULUS 10.

### THE CHRISTIAN FAITH AND THE INTERPRETATION OF THE NICENE CREED.

By THEODORE OF MOPSUESTIA (c. 350-428).

#### PREFATORY NOTE.

##### (i) *Theodore of Mopsuestia.*

IT is a great satisfaction for any scholar to be in a position to publish the hitherto lost theological works of Theodore of Mopsuestia. In the Mingana collection of MSS.,<sup>1</sup> I have so far discovered two works by this Father, which I propose to edit and translate according to their chronological order.

This is not the place to write the history of Theodore nor to give a full list of his works, some of which have, wholly or partially, survived in their Greek original or in East Syrian translations. He seems to have been the most profound thinker and independent inquirer of the Fathers of the Church in the golden age of Christianity: the fourth and the fifth centuries. He is directly or indirectly responsible for the three general Councils of Ephesus, of Chalcedon and of the *Three Chapters*. In the Council of Ephesus Nestorianism was discussed and condemned, but Nestorianism was in reality an amplification of some points in Theodore's teaching in connection with the mystery of

<sup>1</sup> The Mingana Collection has now found a definite home in the newly erected Selly Oak Colleges' Library, Birmingham. The Library owes its existence to the generosity of Mr. and Mrs. Edward Cadbury.

the Incarnation of the Word, while the Council of Chalcedon seems to have accomplished little except to reveal a slight reaction against the Christological conclusions drawn from the doctrine established at Ephesus under the familiar ecclesiastical sanction of *anathema sit*. The fifth Council, commonly called the Council of the *Three Chapters*, is even more directly concerned with Theodore than its two immediate predecessors.

It tells much in favour of the high esteem in which Theodore was held by all his contemporaries that in condemning doctrinal points which had their origin in his writings no one dared to mention his name in relation to them, and the first Synodal fulminations in which his name is found are those of the fifth Council, held about one hundred and twenty-five years after his death.

I will here allude to a few episodes in the life of Theodore, which might illustrate the respect with which his contemporaries regarded his scientific attainments. In 394 he was present in Constantinople on the occasion of the Synod held to decide a question concerning the see of Bostra in the patriarchate of Antioch.<sup>1</sup> His fame had spread to such an extent in the Capital that the Emperor Theodosius, who was already making preparations for his last journey to the West, desired to hear him. Theodore preached before Theodosius, who declared at the end of the sermon that he had never heard such a teacher. *Qui in desiderio visionis viri factus, in ecclesia ejus doctrinae fuit auditor magnus ille imperator; nec arbitratus est alterum se talē comperisse doctorem, superadmiratus quidem ejus doctrinam, et colloquio delectatus atque obstupefactus.*<sup>2</sup> We are also informed by John of Antioch that the Emperor Theodosius the Younger was often in correspondence with Theodore: "*Jam vero et a vestro imperio, pro sui reverentia, et spiritali sapientia, ei saepius attestatum est, et vestris litteris honoratus est.*"<sup>3</sup>

The same John of Antioch, who had become Patriarch of the historic see of the Metropolis of Syria in the year following Theodore's death in 428, speaks in eloquent terms of his work and teaching: "*Qui bene de vita profectus est beatus Theodorus, et quinque et quadraginta annis clare in doctrina praefulsit, et omnem haeresim*

<sup>1</sup> Mansi, *Sacr. Conc. nova et amp. collectio*, iii. 851.

<sup>2</sup> John of Antioch as quoted by Facundus in Migne's *Pat. Lat.*, lxxvii. 563.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*

*expugnavit nullam alicubi detractioem ab orthodoxis in vita suscipiens.*"<sup>1</sup>

The same prelate addresses, in glowing words, the Emperor who had shown interest in Theodore's memory : "*Iste ille est Flaviani magni Antiochensium sanctae Dei Ecclesiae pontificis amantissimus discipulus, et beati Joannis Constantinopolitani episcopi condiscipulus, cujus memoriam redivivam fecistis, maximam hunc gloriam pietatis vestrae imperio facientes.*"<sup>2</sup>

A glimpse of the early life of Theodore is supplied by the writings of his bosom friend John Chrysostom who testifies that his days were spent in reading and his nights in prayer, that his fasts were long and his bed was the bare ground, that he indulged in every form of asceticism and self-discipline : ὅλαι μὲν εἰς ἀνάγνωσιν ἡμέραι, ὅλαι δὲ εἰς εὐχὰς ἀνηλίσκοντο νύκτες . . . νηστείας τε συνεχεῖς καὶ χαμευνίας καὶ τὴν ἄλλην ἀσκησιν.<sup>3</sup>

A letter from Chrysostom to Theodore shows that the former's affection and admiration for the friend of his childhood remained till the end of his days. The letter was written while Chrysostom was in exile at Cucusus (A.D. 404-407). In it the exiled Patriarch testifies that "he can never forget the love of Theodore, so genuine and warm, so sincere and guileless, a love maintained from early years,"<sup>4</sup> and thanks him for the efforts that he had made to obtain his release, and ends his correspondence with the memorable sentence : "Exile as I am I reap no ordinary consolation from having such a treasure, such a mine of wealth within my heart as the love of so vigilant and noble a soul." As the late Dr. Swete points out, higher testimony could not have been borne, or by a more competent judge.<sup>5</sup>

Death did not put a stop to the fame of Theodore. It is recorded

<sup>1</sup> Facundus, *Pat. Lat.*, lxxvii. 562. Facundus died shortly after 571.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>3</sup> *Ad Theodorum lapsum* in Montfaucon's edition (Venice, 1734), p. 36 sq., and in Migne's *Pat. Gr.*, xlvii. 310 sq. The late Dr. H. B. Swete in referring to this passage in *Dict. of Christian Biography*, p. 935, quotes also the sentence : "he was full withal of light-hearted joy as having found the service of Christ to be perfect freedom." I do not believe that in the context this sentence is meant to apply to Theodore. Chrysostom is here making a general statement that has no direct bearing on any particular person.

<sup>4</sup> *Pat. Gr.*, lii. 668-669.

<sup>5</sup> *Dictionary of Christ. Biography*, iv. 936. I am indebted for the above references to this article which is permeated with sound scholarship.

in Tillemont<sup>1</sup> that Meletius, Theodore's successor to the see of Mopsuestia, asserted that he would have endangered his own life if he had uttered words detrimental to his predecessor. Even Cyril of Alexandria whose views on the Incarnation were opposed to those of Theodore was obliged to avow that in the Churches of the East one often heard the cry : "We believe as Theodore believed ; long live the faith of Theodore !" <sup>2</sup> The same Cyril of Alexandria informs us that when a party of bishops was found ready to condemn him, the answer of the bishops of Syria to them was : "We had rather be burnt than condemn Theodore." <sup>3</sup> Leontius Byzantinus informs us also that Cyril of Alexandria advised against the condemnation of Theodore because all the bishops of the Eastern Church considered him an eminent Doctor, and if he were condemned there would be serious disturbance in that Church. <sup>4</sup> The famous Church historian, Theodoret, was pleased to call him "Doctor of the Universal Church." <sup>5</sup> This title is also ascribed to him by a much later Greek author, Nicephorus Callistus, who calls him "Doctor of all the Churches." <sup>6</sup>

There is no need to emphasise the fact that Theodore's memory and especially his writings have always been considered as the most esteemed treasures of the East Syrian Church. They were gradually translated after his death ; and their authority among the innumerable adherents of the Eastern Church, which for a long time stretched from the eastern Mediterranean shores to Manchuria and from the Caspian Sea to the Indian Ocean, was only one degree below that of Paul. With them he was the "interpreter" *par excellence*. The only discordant note seems to have been struck towards the end of the sixth century by individual teachers of no great importance in the councils of the Church, but the Synod held in A.D. 596 by the Patriarch Sabrisho' rose vehemently against them : "We reject and anathematize all those who do not adhere to the commentaries, the traditions and the teaching of the eminent Doctor, the blessed Theodore the interpreter ; and who endeavour to introduce new and foreign doctrines saturated with errors and blasphemies, which are in contradiction to the true and exact teaching of this saint and of all the orthodox Doctors, heads of the schools, who have followed in his steps, cor-

<sup>1</sup> *Mémoires*, xii. 442.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, 343-346.

<sup>3</sup> *Eccl. Hist.*, v. 39.

<sup>4</sup> *Pat. Gr.*, lxxvii. 340.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*, lxxxvi. 1237.

<sup>6</sup> *Pat. Gr.*, cxlvi. 1156.

roborated his doctrine and taught the true faith of the incorruptible orthodoxy in our eastern regions."<sup>1</sup>

In the Synod of Gregory I, held in A.D. 605, all the eastern archbishops and bishops bound themselves to abide by the teaching of Theodore : "We all assembled in this Synod have decided that each of us should receive and accept all the commentaries and works written by the blessed Theodore the interpreter, bishop of Mopsuestia, a man by the grace of God set over the treasures of the two Testaments : the Old and the New, and who like a river of abundant floods watered and nurtured the children of the Church in his lifetime and after his death with the true meaning of the sacred Books in which he was instructed by the Holy Spirit. . . . No one, who in these days wishes to perform the office of teaching in the Church, is allowed to deviate from the works of this eminent and divine man. . . . All our venerable Fathers who have handed down this true faith to us, in their teaching, from his day to our own, have studied his writings and adhered to his statements."<sup>2</sup>

I will also refer to two of the earliest East Syrian historians : "He (Theodore) did not astonish the world in his lifetime only, but also astonished every one with his books after his death. Who is able to narrate the good works of this sea of wisdom, or who is in a position to describe the prodigies which the Spirit<sup>3</sup> worked in him ! When other bishops came near him, they considered themselves as mere pupils ; and philosophers, subtle in reasoning, were before him as students. Every knotty and difficult problem stopped with him and never went beyond him, and he explained it before inquirers and made it as clear as the light of the sun."<sup>4</sup>

"At that time shone in all branches of knowledge the truly divine man St. Theodore the interpreter, who was the first to explain philosophically and rationally the economy of the divine mysteries of the birth and the passion of our Lord."<sup>5</sup>

In the West the only writer who before the fifth Council dared to speak openly against Theodore was Marius Mercator, who died about 450. As early as the year 431 he accused him of being the

<sup>1</sup> *Synodicon Orientale*, p. 459.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 210 (of the text).

<sup>3</sup> Lit. "the hidden sign."

<sup>4</sup> Barhadhbeshabba 'Arabāya edited by Nau in *Pat. Orient.*, ix. 503-504.

<sup>5</sup> Meshihazekha in my *Sources Syriacques*, i. 141.



real author of Pelagianism : "*Quaestio contra Catholicam fidem apud nonnullos Syrorum et praecipue in Cilicia a Theodoro quondam episcopo oppidi Mopsuesteni jamdudum mota. . .*"<sup>1</sup> This hostile note is also clearly found in his Latin translations of some of Theodore's treatises, in which he denounced him as the master of Nestorius and Nestorianism : "*. . . Præsumptum ejus de dispensatione Dominica, et a fide Catholica alienum, ac satis extorrem sensum, quo Nestorium Constantinopolitanæ urbis quondam episcopum secum male decepit. . .*"<sup>2</sup>

An anti-Theodorian party, however, was steadily gaining ground in Egypt where Cyril of Alexandria held sway. Towards the middle of the sixth century the Alexandrian Doctors, followers of Cyril, counted many adherents in the Metropolis, who were powerful enough to influence the Emperor Justinian and induce him to summon a Council and condemn Theodore.

Given free rein the outbursts of the Cyrillian Bishops of the Council knew no bounds. Expressions such as "impious," "blasphemous," "heretical" were continuously hurled against a man dead one hundred and twenty-five years previously. The following phrases reveal the spirit which permeated the Fathers of the fifth Council :

*Isti sunt thesauri impietatis Theodori. Sceleratum symbolum impii Theodori. . .*<sup>3</sup> *Et postquam lectæ sunt blasphemiae Theodori Mopsuesteni et impium ejus symbolum. . .*<sup>4</sup> *Et post acclamationes sancta synodus dixit : Multitudo lectarum blasphemiarum, quas contra magnum Deum et Salvatorem nostrum Jesum Christum, imo magis contra suam animam Theodorus Mopsuestenus evomuit, justam ejus facit condemnationem.*<sup>5</sup>

The condemnation of a dead man gave satisfaction to his adversaries in the Cyrillian camp, but rent asunder the Catholic Church of the time and caused a deep wound in the spiritual body of the faithful. The evil effects of that wound are to some extent felt even in our days, in which the theological admirers of Theodore are, more than one thousand and five hundred years after his death, still counted in thousands.

The condemnation of the works of the great Antiochian theologian

<sup>1</sup> *Pat. Lat.*, xlviii. 110.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, 1042-1043.

<sup>3</sup> Mansi, *Sacrorum Conciliorum nova et ampl. collectio*, ix. p. 227.

<sup>4</sup> Mansi, *ibid.*, p. 229.

<sup>5</sup> Mansi, *ibid.*, pp. 229-230.

decreased their influence on Western thought, and the MSS. containing them were either burnt or underwent a gradual process of slow disappearance from the shelves of ecclesiastical libraries. Fortunately, however, his works were translated shortly after his death by his admirers in the East, and the Catalogue of 'Abdisho'<sup>1</sup> registers almost all of them. When 'Abdisho' wrote his Catalogue in about A.D. 1298 all the works of Theodore were found in the churches and monasteries of his day, and probably also in his own library at Nisibin. The numerous persecutions inflicted since that date on the eastern Christians by Mongols, Turks and Kurds have, however, resulted in their complete disappearance even in East Syrian lands, and the only complete treatises known to have survived are: (a) his commentary on the Gospel of John which was edited in 1897, according to a MS. of our Lady near Alkōsh, by J. B. Chabot who, however, did not venture to give any translation of it; (b) his short controversial treatise against the Macedonians which was edited and translated in 1913 by F. Nau,<sup>2</sup> from a recently acquired MS. of the British Museum.

### (ii) *The Present Work.*

The work of which I give an edition and translation in the following pages is the one called "The Book on Faith" by 'Abdisho' in his Catalogue,<sup>3</sup> while the *Chronicle of Seert*<sup>4</sup> calls it more accurately "The interpretation of the faith of the three hundred and eighteen," i.e., of the Council of Nicea. In a letter of the Pope Pelagius the work is referred to as "De interpretatione symboli trecentorum decem et octo Patrum,"<sup>5</sup> and the Acts of the fifth Council mention it also once under the same title: "De interpretatione symboli trecentorum decem et octo sanctorum Patrum."<sup>6</sup> Nicephorus Theotokes<sup>7</sup> has doubtless this work in mind when he writes: ἐρμηνεία εἰς τὸ Νικαίᾳ σύμβολον, 'An explanation of the Nicene Profession of faith.'

From the extracts that I give below it will be seen that the work

<sup>1</sup> Assemani, *Bib. Orient.*, iii. 30-35.

<sup>2</sup> *Pat. Orient.*, ix. 637-667.

<sup>3</sup> *Bibl. Orient.*, iii. 33.

<sup>4</sup> *In Pat. Orient.*, v. 290.

<sup>5</sup> Mansi, *Sac. Conc. Nov. et amp. collectio*, ix. 443.

<sup>6</sup> Mansi, *ibid.*, ix. 216.

<sup>7</sup> *Seira*, i. p. 18 (Leipzig, 1772) Which is the source of Theotokes, who died in A.D. 1800, for this statement?

I will give now the quotations from the present work found in the Acts of the fifth Council, in the synodical letter of the Pope Pelagius, in the works of Facundus and in those of Marius Mercator.

## 1°

(a)

“Sed Christum quidem secundum carnem et assumptam servi formam, eum autem qui eam assumpsit, super omnia nominans Deum, intulit tamen hoc secundum conjunctionem nominum naturarum, manifestam et divisionem faciat. Nemo igitur neque eum qui secundum carnem ex Judaeis est, dicat Deum qui est super omnia, secundum carnem ex Judaeis.” (*Mansi*, ix. 216.)

... الا معسلا حبه؛ مده؛ اهل جهنم؛ جنعا؛ عفا.  
 حبه؛ به؛ يهدون؛ اهل جهنم؛ معصيه؛ اهل الكفر؛ جلا؛ و.  
 اهل؛ اهل؛ به؛ اهلهم؛ احسا؛ به؛ هه؛ عفا؛ قتلا. كـ

<sup>2</sup> Migne's *Pat. Lat.*, lxxvii. 747.

<sup>3</sup>The Greek text of these Acts is lost, but we have a Latin version of them. Cf. Hefele's *Histoire des Conciles* (translation of Leclercq), iii. 72.



אֵלָּהּ יְהוָה יִשְׁלַח מַלְאָכָא בְּחַיִּים לְהַחְיֵה מְדַלָּהּ וְיִשְׁמַר מְדַלָּהּ  
 וְיִשְׁמַר מְדַלָּהּ וְיִשְׁמַר מְדַלָּהּ וְיִשְׁמַר מְדַלָּהּ וְיִשְׁמַר מְדַלָּהּ  
 וְיִשְׁמַר מְדַלָּהּ וְיִשְׁמַר מְדַלָּהּ וְיִשְׁמַר מְדַלָּהּ וְיִשְׁמַר מְדַלָּהּ  
 וְיִשְׁמַר מְדַלָּהּ וְיִשְׁמַר מְדַלָּהּ וְיִשְׁמַר מְדַלָּהּ וְיִשְׁמַר מְדַלָּהּ

(From Chapter VIII.)

(d)

*Ejusdem ex libro ad baptizandos :*

“Permanens autem, donec secundum suam creaturam et virtutem  
 solvens mortis dolores, liberavit eum ineffabilibus illis vinculis, et de  
 mortis resuscitans, transtulit quidem in immortalem vitam ; incorruptum  
 autem et immortalem efficiens, in caelum duxit.” (*Mansi*, ix. 218.)

... מִן הַמָּוֶת יִשְׁלַח מַלְאָכָא בְּחַיִּים לְהַחְיֵה מְדַלָּהּ וְיִשְׁמַר מְדַלָּהּ  
 וְיִשְׁמַר מְדַלָּהּ וְיִשְׁמַר מְדַלָּהּ וְיִשְׁמַר מְדַלָּהּ וְיִשְׁמַר מְדַלָּהּ  
 וְיִשְׁמַר מְדַלָּהּ וְיִשְׁמַר מְדַלָּהּ וְיִשְׁמַר מְדַלָּהּ וְיִשְׁמַר מְדַלָּהּ  
 וְיִשְׁמַר מְדַלָּהּ וְיִשְׁמַר מְדַלָּהּ וְיִשְׁמַר מְדַלָּהּ וְיִשְׁמַר מְדַלָּהּ

(From Chapter V.)

(e)

*Et post alia :*

“Christum justificatum et immaculatum factum virtute Sancti  
 Spiritus, sicut beatus Paulus modo quidem dicit, ‘Quod justificatus  
 est in spiritu (1 Tim. 3) : modo vero.’ Qui per Spiritum aeternum,  
 immaculatum se obtulit Deo (Heb. 9), mori quidem facit secundum  
 legem hominum, utpote autem impeccabilem virtute Sancti Spiritus  
 factum, resuscitavit de mortuis, et ad vitam constituit meliorem :  
 immutabilem quidem animae cogitationibus, incorruptum autem et  
 indissolutum et carne faciens.” (*Mansi*, ix. 218.)

... מִן הַמָּוֶת יִשְׁלַח מַלְאָכָא בְּחַיִּים לְהַחְיֵה מְדַלָּהּ וְיִשְׁמַר מְדַלָּהּ  
 וְיִשְׁמַר מְדַלָּהּ וְיִשְׁמַר מְדַלָּהּ וְיִשְׁמַר מְדַלָּהּ וְיִשְׁמַר מְדַלָּהּ  
 וְיִשְׁמַר מְדַלָּהּ וְיִשְׁמַר מְדַלָּהּ וְיִשְׁמַר מְדַלָּהּ וְיִשְׁמַר מְדַלָּהּ  
 וְיִשְׁמַר מְדַלָּהּ וְיִשְׁמַר מְדַלָּהּ וְיִשְׁמַר מְדַלָּהּ וְיִשְׁמַר מְדַלָּהּ



وَمَعَهُمَا مَرٌّ مَعَ حَسْبِ مَحْتَلٍّ مَعَهُمَا حَسْبُ سَبَّأٍ لَهَا وَلَا  
مَعَهُمَا سَجْفٌ رَحْتَنُ مَعَهُمَا مَحْفٌ رَحْمَةً لَا مَعَهُمَا هَلَا  
مَعَهُمَا حَلَا.

(From Chapter V.)

(f)

*Et post alia :*

“Deo autem gratias, qu inobis dedit victoriam per Dominum nostrum Jesum Christum’ (1 Cor. 15); istorum causam fuisse nobis dicens Deum, qui contra omnes adversarios nobis dedit victoriam, sive mortis, sive peccati, sive cujuscumque hinc nascendi mali : qui Dominum nostrum Jesum Christum pro nobis hominem sumens, et ipsum per resurrectionem de mortuis ad meliorem transtulit finem, et in dextera sua sedere fecit et nobis ad eum donavit communionem.” (*Mansi*, ix. 218.)

وَمَعَهُمَا حَسْبُ مَحْتَلٍّ مَعَهُمَا حَسْبُ سَبَّأٍ لَهَا وَلَا  
رَحْمَةً مَعَ مَحْتَلٍّ مَعَهُمَا مَحْتَلٍّ مَعَهُمَا مَحْتَلٍّ مَعَهُمَا  
حَسْبُ مَحْتَلٍّ مَحْتَلٍّ مَحْتَلٍّ مَحْتَلٍّ مَحْتَلٍّ مَحْتَلٍّ  
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(From Chapter V.)

2°

FROM THE LETTER OF THE POPE PELAGIUS.

*Ejusdem de interpretatione Symboli trecentorum et octo Patrum :*

“Sed Christum quidem secundum assumptam servi formam, eum autem qui eam assumpsit, super omnia nominatus Deum; intulit tamen hoc secundum conjunctionem, ut per significationem nominum, naturarum manifestam divisionem faciat. Nemo igitur, neque eum











from the dead and transferred him to immortal life, and made him immortal and incorruptible, and caused him to go up to heaven where he is now sitting at the right hand of God." The Latin translation of this sentence is given as follows: *Permanens autem, donec secundum suam creaturam et virtutem solvens mortis dolores, liberavit eum ineffabilibus illis vinculis etc.* The Latin translator seems here to have misread a possible Greek word ἀρρηκτος *unbroken* as ἀρρητος *unspeakable, ineffable*.

So far as Marius Mercator is concerned, we may point out that he seems to have deliberately omitted to translate two sentences of Theodore. The first sentence is: "And the separation of natures does not preclude their being one" **ولا فقه، ولا، فقهيا، محصور** محصور

The second sentence reads: "It is known that here he (Paul) calls "Son" the one made of the seed of David in the flesh."<sup>1</sup>

Mercator deliberately omits also to translate the adjective "close" when Theodore uses it to express the "close union" between God the Word and man. The Syriac expression used in this connection is ܡܠܚܘܬܐ ܕܡܝܠܬܐ<sup>2</sup>

We may incidentally remark that the technical terms used in the mystery of the Incarnation were so imperfectly fixed even in the time of Marius Mercator that he translates the word *nature*, the Syriac ܢܬܝܬܐ which doubtless renders the Greek φύσις, by the Latin *substantia*. This last word generally renders the Greek ὑπόστασις and the Syriac ܚܕܝܬܐ and hardly ever stands for the word "nature."

It should here be stated that some quotations from the present work of Theodore may be seen in East-Syrian literature, especially in a MS. recently added to my collection through the good offices of Mr. W. G. Greenslade.

<sup>1</sup> Rom. i. 3.

<sup>3</sup> Theodore uses also in this connection the expression *ἡ ἁπλοῦς* *perfect union* (chap. vi.).



will find in it many other interesting points besides Trinity and Incarnation. These last two points, however, are treated with much more detail than the others.

As a commentator Theodore has been criticised by no less an authority than Harnack<sup>1</sup> as too prosaic and monotonous. This stylistic defect is noticeable in the present work which is in some places marred by many verbal antitheses and repetitions arising from his desire to stress his point for his readers or rather hearers.

(iv) *The Manuscript.*

The MS. containing the present work of Theodore is found in my collection of MSS. and is therein numbered Mingana Syr. 561.<sup>2</sup> As the MS. is not throughout in a good state of preservation and is in many places wormed and damaged by damp, it was not found desirable to reproduce it in facsimile. For this reason I have had to copy all its text and edit it in the ordinary Syriac type instead of following the usual practice in my *Woodbrooke Studies* of giving facsimiles in case of unique texts.

TRANSLATION.

*By the power of our Lord Jesus Christ we begin to write the exposition of the faith of the three hundred and eighteen (Fathers),<sup>3</sup> composed by Mar Theodore the interpreter.*

CHAPTER I.

What discourse is worthy of, and what minds are equal to, the greatness of the subjects placed before us? Or which is the tongue that is able to teach these mysteries? It is indeed difficult for our tongues to speak with accuracy even of the created natures, because they also are created with great wisdom by the Maker. As for those which are higher than our nature—because such are those of which we intend to speak—how much are they not higher than all the minds of men? They truly transcend our words! The blessed Paul bears witness concerning them in saying: "Eye hath not seen nor ear heard, neither have entered into the heart of man the things which God hath prepared for them that love Him."<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *E.B.*, 11th edition, xxvi. 767.

<sup>2</sup> For a description of the MS. see the forthcoming Catalogue of the Syriac and Garshūni MSS. of my collection.

<sup>3</sup> Of the Council of Nicea.

<sup>4</sup> 1 Cor. ii. 9.

It is with these wonderful things that our discourse wishes to deal, and it is to the delight of these mysteries that we have been invited, because the time of the great festival of the Passover leads us to teach them. If God had wished those heavenly gifts not to be known to us, it is evident that we should not have been able to discourse on them, because how could a man have spoken of unknown things? Since, however, He wished from the first and before the foundations of the world to make manifest the wisdom that was in Him<sup>1</sup> in the Economy of our Lord Jesus Christ, He revealed to us these hidden mysteries and the greatness of these gifts, and He granted their knowledge to men through the Holy Spirit. It is indeed written that God revealed to us by His Spirit and showed us the sublime and ineffable mysteries which are performed by the power of the Holy Spirit so that through them we might proceed in a congruous way, by degrees and by faith, to these future gifts.<sup>2</sup> This is the reason why we desired to discourse with confidence, according to the grace of God vouchsafed to us, on these unspeakable things which are higher than ourselves. It is this time of this festival that has led us to speak with those who wish to participate in these awe-inspiring mysteries.

Now is the time for me to say: "Sing unto the Lord a new song for He has done marvellous things."<sup>3</sup> Indeed a new song is required for new things, and it is the New Testament which this scriptural sentence embraces, a sentence which God confirmed to the human race by the Economy of our Lord Jesus Christ, when He annulled all old things and showed new things in their place. Every man who is in Christ is a new creature; old things are passed away and all things are become new.<sup>4</sup> Death and corruption have ceased, passions and mutability have passed away, and the life of the new creature has been made manifest, a life which we hope to reach after<sup>5</sup> our resurrection from the dead. At the resurrection from the dead He will make us new instead of old, and incorruptible and immortal instead of corruptible and mortal.

He gave us this new covenant which is fit for those who are renewed; and because of this covenant we receive the knowledge of

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Eph. i. 8-9; Col. i. 26; iv. 3-4, etc.

<sup>2</sup> 1 Cor. ii. 11-13.

<sup>3</sup> Ps. xcvi. 1. (Pheshitta has "a marvellous thing.")

<sup>4</sup> 2 Cor. v. 17.

<sup>5</sup> Lit. from.

these mysteries so that we should put off the old man and put on the new man who is renewed after the image of Him who created him, where there is neither Greek nor Jew, bond nor free, but Christ is all and in all.<sup>1</sup> This will take place in reality in the next world when we shall have become immortal and incorruptible, when we shall only contemplate Christ of whose Kingdom we shall partake, when the incident of being Jew or Greek, bond or free, shall be taken from us, and when all the ways of the image of this world shall have completely disappeared. Indeed what incidence of being Jew or Greek, bond or free, can remain with those who are in an immortal and incorruptible nature after the image of Christ, according to the testimony of the blessed Paul?

Because it was necessary that the faith in the truth of the future gifts should remain in us so that we should not throw doubts on them on account of their greatness—since we see them very much alien to our nature and above it—these awe-inspiring mysteries were confided to us in order that through them as through symbols we might approach our future hope with confidence, and in order to obtain a faith without doubts in these gifts, while cultivating a conduct that is in harmony with the new world and arranging our work in this world as much as possible in conformity with the following sentences: “Our conversation is in heaven,”<sup>2</sup> and: “our building is of God,”<sup>3</sup> and “we have a house in heaven not made with hands.”<sup>4</sup>

While still on the earth we have been called<sup>5</sup> to that awe-inspiring glory of the future world through these mysteries, but we (ought to) live as much as possible a heavenly life in spurning visible things and aspiring after future things. Those who are about to partake of these awe-inspiring mysteries are inspired to do so by the grace of God. They do not do this in order to partake of small and ordinary gifts, but to be transformed completely into new men and to possess different virtues which they will receive by the gift of the grace of God: being mortal they will become immortal, being corruptible they will become incorruptible, being passible they will become impassible, being changeable they will become unchangeable, being bond they will become free, being enemies they will become friends, being strangers they will become sons. They will no more be considered a part of

<sup>1</sup> Col. iii. 10-11.

<sup>3</sup> Phil. iii. 20.

<sup>2</sup> 2 Cor. v. 1.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.* Cf. Heb. ix, 11, 24.

<sup>5</sup> Lit. written, inscribed.



Adam but of Christ ; they will call as their head not Adam but Christ, who has renewed them ; they will not cultivate a ground that will bring forth thorns and thistles to them,<sup>1</sup> but they will dwell in a heaven which is remote and immune from all pains and sufferings ; nor will death rule over them but they will become themselves rulers in a new life where they will be not slaves of sin but warriors of righteousness, not servants of Satan but intimate friends of Christ for all time.

Adam, the father of mankind, received the abode of Paradise from which he was driven out through his disobedience and sin, and we, who became the heirs of his nature and his punishment, ascend to heaven by faith in Christ through our participation in these mysteries, as He said : " Except a man be born of water and of the Spirit he cannot enter into the Kingdom of Heaven."<sup>2</sup> The man, however, who receives this spiritual birth is immediately inscribed in heaven and becomes the heir and partaker of those future gifts, as the blessed Paul said,<sup>3</sup> because those who believed in Christ are in expectation of making their abode in heaven after the resurrection from the dead. Indeed we hope to go to heaven where the first man,<sup>4</sup> Christ, went on our behalf. Through these mysteries we are truly inscribed in that abode.

We are in need of great care and immense diligence in order not to fall away from this great promise and suffer the fate of Adam who was driven out of Paradise. This is the reason why we ought to partake of these awe-inspiring mysteries with true faith,<sup>5</sup> and not to forget this faith but to keep what we have received with great care. When we have received these heavenly gifts in a perfect manner so that we may delight in them, and when we have become their heirs in our actions, it is impossible that we should fall away from them. As long as we are on the earth, however, because we only receive them by hope through our participation in these mysteries, it is possible to fall away from them, as we have a changeable nature. We ought, therefore, to have great care and anxiety concerning them and to endeavour truly to possess the hope of the future in our souls.

Now which is the faith and which are the promises through which

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Gen. iii. 18 etc.

<sup>2</sup> John iii. 5.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. Rom. viii. 17 ; Gal. iii. 29, i. iv. 7 ; Tit. iii. 7.

<sup>4</sup> Lit. our first.

<sup>5</sup> Or : religion, confession.

we have our part in mysteries in the hope of these heavenly gifts in which we delight? These are found in the profession of faith which we make before Christ our Lord before our baptism. If it were possible to comprehend their power by hearing only, our words would have been useless, because their mere recitation would have made them understood by those who heard them. Since, however, there is much power hidden in them—as our holy Fathers confided them to us as an ineffable treasure condensed in words which are easy to learn and to remember—it is necessary to teach those who are about to receive these mysteries and to show them the sense and the meaning that are hidden in them. When they have learnt the greatness of the gift to which they wish to make their approach, and have understood the meaning of their religion and their promises for the sake of which they receive such a great gift, they will keep with diligence in their souls the faith which has been handed down to them.

The principle of your faith and promise which is to be carefully kept in these mysteries is : *I believe in one God, Father Almighty, Creator of all things visible and invisible.* By the grace of our Lord we will explain these words one after another, because it is good that you should know the power of all of them. Let us, therefore, rightly begin from where you also began in your profession of faith :

*I believe in one God, Father Almighty.* This is the foundation of the religion of the fear of God,<sup>1</sup> “for with the heart man believeth unto righteousness, and with the mouth confession is made unto salvation.”<sup>2</sup> This is the truth of the true teaching of the faith. Because the question of religion lies in the belief in things that are invisible and indescribable, it is in need of faith, which causes mind to see a thing that is invisible. The things that are visible we see them with our eyes, while the things that are invisible are only seen by faith, as “faith is the substance of things hoped for and the evidence of things not seen.”<sup>3</sup>

This faith brings in substance to the mind the things that are not yet existent in reality. We accept by faith as true the resurrection from the dead to heaven and all the future existence, which is not yet in existence. Faith causes the soul to see and understand the things that are invisible and indescribable. We are enabled by faith to be

<sup>1</sup> Or : godliness. Does it possibly render the Greek θεοσέβεια?

<sup>2</sup> Rom. x. 10.

<sup>3</sup> Heb. xi. 1.

worthy of seeing the nature of God "who is the sole invisible and incorruptible, who dwelleth in the bright light which has no equal, and whom no man hath seen nor can see."<sup>1</sup>

We are able to see the visible thing with material eyes, if these are sound and able to see, and if there is nothing to hinder them from seeing properly ; but if they are affected by injury, all things that were visible become invisible, although in reality visible. In this same way we all see with accuracy the invisible and the indescribable things, which the question of religion has taught us, if our faith is sound, but they are not seen by those whose faith is not sound. The question of religion consists in two things : confession concerning God and concerning all the various and numerous things that were and will be made by Him, and both of these are in need of faith as is shown by the blessed Paul : "He that cometh to the religion of God must believe that He is"<sup>2</sup> and that the "worlds were framed by His Word so that things which are seen were not made of things which do appear."<sup>3</sup>

In these he shows first that even confession concerning God cannot consist in anything but the thought of religion<sup>4</sup> through faith alone ; secondly, that we are unable to understand and confess the things that were made by Him in any other way than by faith. Faith perfects those who accept it thoroughly in the truth of religion while those who become remote from it sink in error completely.

Paul called the Church of God "the pillar and ground of the truth,"<sup>5</sup> because it is sound in faith and well established in the teaching of religion. As to those who are outside the faith : pagans, Jews, and heretics, because they are devoid of faith, they stray from the truth. Indeed because the pagans had no faith they were unable to understand how God was able to create and to make everything from nothing and establish it in substance, and in their error they gave fancifully to God a consort to whom He had given a seat with Him from eternity ; and they strayed from the truth into various other insipid stories. As to Jews they recoiled from the name of a son, and

<sup>1</sup> 1 Tim. vi. 16.

<sup>2</sup> Heb. xi. 6.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, 3.

<sup>4</sup> The word that I translate by "religion" literally means "fear of God," and it is possibly the Greek word used by Paul (*θεοσεβεια*) which the English Bible renders by "godliness."

<sup>5</sup> 1 Tim. iii. 15.

because of their lack of faith they did not understand the one who is a true Son.

In this way all the heretics who are outside the Church and who have ascribed the name of Christ with untruth to themselves, because they have no faith, have erred and strayed from the truth. In order not to mention to your hearing all the heresies, it will be sufficient to refer to Arius and Eunomius and all those who subscribe to their opinion, and note how they were affected with the disease of the Jews ; and because of their lack of faith they did not understand nor did they accept that the Son is of Divine nature, and that everything that is said of the nature of the Father is said also of that of the Son, while the nature of the Father in no way suffers from the fact that it has a true Son who in His nature is a true mirror of itself.<sup>1</sup>

These few things have been said out of many in order to rebuke those who have strayed from the truth, and to show that they have strayed because of their lack of faith. Indeed, the error of men who have gone astray because of their lack of faith is great and possesses many ramifications, and as error increases in proportion to its remoteness from faith, so also knowledge increases in proportion to its nearness to faith. It is by faith that we know that God is, that He is the creator of everything and that He created everything from nothing. It is by it that we understand that those who have passed away and perished will come back again to life and existence, when the Creator wishes. It is by faith that we have known that the Father has a Son born of His nature and God like Himself. It is by faith that we have accepted that the Holy Spirit is of the same nature as God the Father and that He is always with the Father and the Son. It is by faith that we have no doubt nor suspicion concerning the preaching of the Economy of Christ which took place in the world.

It is, therefore, with justice that our blessed Fathers placed faith like a foundation in the forefront of our spiritual teaching and of the mystery of our covenant, and it is with right that they intimated to us to begin from there and say : *I believe in one God, Father Almighty*. See how our blessed Fathers, with the first word of the true profession of faith in one God the Father, removed us with care from the error of polytheism and from the fallacy of Judaism

<sup>1</sup> Lit. " who fully shows His Father in it."

which puts in practice to-day all the teaching of the Old Testament in its entirety.

The words of the New Testament concerning Christ were found in the prophets of the Old Testament ; they were indeed found in the prophets as a symbol and a sign whereby the Jews expected Christ to appear to them as a man, but none of them was aware of the divinity of an only Son—a Word-God. (Our blessed Fathers) gave us a perfect doctrine which separates from paganism those who become affiliated with religion, and which removes completely from the error of polytheism those who obey its commandments, while teaching that the natures of the Godhead are not many and separate, but that God is in one, single and eternal nature which is the cause of everything ; that such a one is God, and outside Him there is no other God ; that God is a being who is eternal and the cause of everything ; that a being who is not like this is not God by nature ; that a being who is eternal is the cause of everything ; that a being who is not eternal and the cause of everything, is not God but the work of God, who alone is capable of creating everything from nothing.

He said : “ The Lord Thy God is one Lord ”<sup>1</sup> in order that we might learn that there is one nature in the Godhead to which is due the name of Lord and God. He also said : “ the gods that have not made the heavens and the earth shall perish from the earth and from under the heavens ”<sup>2</sup> in order that we might understand that he who is not the cause of everything is not God. The one who is the cause of everything is God alone. He said to Moses, “ I am the cause of everything,”<sup>3</sup> in order that we might learn that He is truly the one who was from eternity and is always, and that He is God. He who does not possess this attribute and is not eternal, is not truly existent by Himself, but is made and has actually been made when he was not existent, at the time at which the one who is from eternity, that is to say God, wished to make him.

He also said : “ I am the first and the last God and there was no other god before me and there shall be no other god after me,”<sup>4</sup> in order that we might understand that He is the God who was first and from eternity and that it is impossible that another God that is created

<sup>1</sup> Deut. vi. 4 ; Mark xii. 29, etc.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. also Deut. xxxii. 39.

<sup>2</sup> Jer. x. 11.

<sup>4</sup> Is. xlv. 6, etc.



should exist. Divine nature cannot indeed fall within the notion of creation.<sup>1</sup>

All these words teach us the doctrine of religion and expel the error of paganism. Among pagans gods are many and of different kinds : some of them are young, and some others old ; some of them can do this, and some others that ; some of them perish, and some others will continue their existence ; and they are of different natures. That we ought to reject all these the Old Testament taught us in the prophets, who spoke through the Holy Spirit to the effect that all the gods of the Gentiles are false and are not gods because God is one, who is from eternity and is the cause of everything, as He said : " There shall be no strange god in thee,"<sup>2</sup> that is to say a new god, and, " neither shalt thou worship a strange god "<sup>3</sup> because everything that is new is not God, and " they are new gods that came newly up."<sup>4</sup>

Divine nature is one and eternal. It was in no need to be made by another, because it is the cause of everything. This is the reason why He is God alone, and anything that is made cannot by nature be God, as it is made by another. All the created things rightly attribute their existence to their Creator who is God, to whom they owe their being, and for this they are under an obligation of gratitude to Him who by His own good will and power vouchsafed to them to be what they are.

Our blessed Fathers succinctly included all this great teaching in the sentence : *I believe in one God*. Let us, therefore, accept the belief in one God according to the preaching of the prophets and the teaching of our Fathers. Divine nature is truly one, and it exists from eternity and is the cause of everything ; this is not as the pagans erroneously state that there are many gods of different kinds.

It is necessary that we should offer you an oral teaching about everything, little by little, in order that you may be able to remember the things that are spoken to you, as these are indispensable to those who adhere to what has preceded. By the help of the grace of God we expect to keep our promise to you, but now let the words that have been spoken suffice, and let us glorify the Father, the Son and the Holy Spirit, now, always and for ever and ever.

*Here ends the first chapter.*

<sup>1</sup> Lit. high above creation.

<sup>2</sup> Ps. lxxxi. 9.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>4</sup> Deut. xxxii. 17.

## CHAPTER II.

*On Faith.*

Yesterday we spoke to your love sufficiently, and in the measure granted to us by the grace of God, of faith which is the foundation of the principle of religion. We approached the words of our profession of faith and showed how through faith in one God all the error of the polytheism of the Gentiles vanishes. We learned from the holy Books of the prophets to shake off from us all the aberrations of pagans, whose gods are different and numerous, and to believe that Divine nature which ought to be called God and Lord is one, because He alone is from eternity and is the cause of everything.

All the created beings are very remote from this nature, as it is impossible to admit that a created being is from eternity, and the created beings themselves will not suffer to be called rightfully Lord and God by nature. A being who is created by another cannot by any means create another being from nothing, or be called God with justice, but the one who created him is God by necessity. This is the reason why we say that there is only one God as the holy prophets taught us ; and by the grace of the Holy Spirit they spoke and defined the kind of nature which belongs to God. Beyond this they did not teach us anything clearly.

The doctrine concerning the Father and the Son was kept (to be promulgated) by Christ our Lord, who taught His disciples that which was unknown before and was not revealed to men, and ordered them to teach it to others also in saying to them plainly : "Go ye and teach all nations, baptizing them in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost."<sup>1</sup> As the blessed Moses said when he promulgated his doctrine : "The Lord, Thy God is one Lord"<sup>2</sup>—a doctrine that was taught and handed down by all the prophets—so the Christ our Lord gave His teaching in the name of the Father, of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost, but did not say what we had to learn and to teach others concerning the Lord and God, as this had been clearly done by the prophets. He ordered His disciples to teach all the nations that which was lacking to make the teaching of the prophets perfect, and for this He said : "Go ye and teach all nations

<sup>1</sup> Matt. xxviii. 19.<sup>2</sup> Deut. vi. 4.

baptizing them in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost," not that we should think that one of these is not God nor that there is a God beside them, but that we should believe that they alone constitute Divine nature, which we had formerly learnt from the prophets to be one.

Because the Gentiles had previously taught the doctrine of the plurality of gods, who were numerous and different in youth and old age, in weakness and strength, so that some of them were able to do this and some others that—Christ ordered His disciples against this to teach all the nations to turn from all the error of paganism, and to believe in the unity of nature in the Godhead, as was the case with the doctrine first taught to mankind, from which the knowledge of religion was received ; and also to learn that the one who is from eternity and is the cause of everything is one Divine nature known in the three persons of the Father, of the Son and of the Holy Spirit.

He would not have induced the Gentiles to turn away from names of false gods to the knowledge of the Father if He did not know that He (the Father) was truly Divine nature, nor would He have brought them to the knowledge of the Son if He did not know that He (the Son) was truly of the same Divine nature, nor would He have inculcated to them the knowledge of the Holy Spirit if He knew that He (the Holy Spirit) was alien to that nature, otherwise He would have caused them to turn from one falsehood to the knowledge of another falsehood. It is known that it is from false gods, who were wrongly called gods, that He ordered His disciples in His teaching to turn the Gentiles to the knowledge of the true God, which is that of the Father, the Son and the Holy Spirit. Each one of these persons is a true God, but the Divine nature of the Father, of the Son and of the Holy Spirit which we believe to be eternal and the cause of everything, is one.

In this way the teaching of the Old Testament is in harmony with the teaching of the New Testament, and the words which the prophets uttered concerning God are not foreign nor contradictory to those which the Christ our Lord delivered to the Gentiles through the Apostles. Through the prophets we only understood God and the being to whom an uncreated nature belongs, but the teaching of our Lord Jesus Christ gave us also with certainty the persons in whom is Divine nature. This is the reason why our blessed Fathers placed first the doctrine of the

belief in one God as it was written in the Old Testament in order to destroy the error of polytheism, and then imparted to us the knowledge of the persons according to the teaching of Christ. They were in a position—and it was easy for them—to repeat the words of our Lord “in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost,” but because they wrote this profession of faith against the teaching of the heretics, they taught it as succinctly as possible from many words uttered by our Lord, for the demolition of error and the construction of the doctrine of Christ, so that by their meaning they should reprove those who contradict the true faith. For this reason they added with justice the name of the Father after they had said, *I believe in one God.*

After the words concerning God they proceeded to the teaching of the persons, which is the true teaching of the Christian faith and the true knowledge for those who become disciples of Christ. Because the sentence denotes Divine nature, it refers to the three persons, and as the teaching concerning the persons could not be considered as referring to one, they rightly spoke to us of what is due to each person separately. At the beginning of their sentence they placed the Father from whom are the Son and the Holy Spirit. The Father is truly the one who is a Father alone, but we hold each one of the three persons to be God, because Christ included this true doctrine in His teaching concerning these three persons.

When we hear the name “Father” we do not hear it to no purpose, but we understand that God is a Father, and a true Father, because He is Father alone; and we hold that this Father is God in a way that belongs only to Divine nature. All the created beings obtain the power of being fathers after their creation, and there is no human being that has the attribute of fatherhood concomitantly with his existence. Even Adam, the first man, who was not born of another man, had not the attribute of fatherhood concomitantly with his existence. He came first into existence and afterwards received the power of becoming a father, as it is said: “Adam knew his wife, and she conceived and bore a son.”<sup>1</sup> He became and was called a father after his intercourse with Eve, after a long time of gestation, after pangs of travail, and after the birth of his child. It is iniquitous to attribute any of those functions to Divine nature. He who had no

<sup>1</sup> Gen. iv. 1.

need of time to exist was in no need of time to become a Father. Because He was from eternity, He was also a Father from eternity.

God the Father is truly a father ; and He did not receive this in time, because He did not have a Son after a time, but the latter was with Him from eternity and was from Him as a Son also from eternity. It is for this that when our Lord gave this wonderful teaching to His disciples He said, "Baptise in the name of the Father," and did not need to add another sentence in order to show whom He was calling "Father." It was sufficient for Him to say, "Teach and baptize" to show whom He was calling Father. He called God the Father in whom they had to believe and in whose name they had to be baptized, the God who was from eternity according to the teaching of the prophets.

It is not possible that the one who is from eternity should become Father after a time. The very name Father shows this without further addition. If like us He became Father later, He would also be identical with us in attribute and in the meaning of the word. Now since this vocable "father" is one and the same with many men, we should rightly inquire as to whom He called Father. The true Father is the one who is Father alone. As He is eternal by nature so He is eternally a Father. Since He is alone called by this name and in the full meaning of the word,<sup>1</sup> we do not feel any necessity to inquire who is the one who is called Father, as His very name indicates the true Father. When He says : "*I am that I am*," this is my name for ever and this is my memorial unto generations,"<sup>2</sup> we understand that God is called by this name, because He is truly God, while all the created beings are not beings by themselves<sup>3</sup> because they were created from nothing according to the will of their Maker. He is the true being, and He is called *I am that I am* because He was not made by another.

As He is not like us He is not a Father like us, because He did not receive the power of becoming a Father in time. So when we hear the word "father" we should rightly think of that true Father who did not acquire the power of becoming a Father in time, nor was He in need of an intercourse. He is a Father in truth and from

<sup>1</sup> *I.e.*, He is Father *par excellence*.

<sup>2</sup> *Exod. iii. 14-15.*

<sup>3</sup> *Lit. are not in truth.*



eternity, a complete nature, with whom His child exists also from eternity.

The sentence : *I believe in one God the Father* taught us all these things. It is rightly followed by the phrase *Creator of all things visible and invisible*, so that we should understand that He is not only the Father of the Son but also the Creator of all the creatures, and think of the difference which exists between Father and Creator, and between Son and creatures. He is the Father of the Son and the Creator of the creatures. The creatures were created later while the Son was from the beginning with Him and from Him. This is the difference between Father and Creator. He is called the Father of the one who was born of Him, and the Creator of all the natures which are outside Him and which were created from nothing by His will. This is the reason why they added nothing to the doctrine concerning the Father ; indeed the very word Father sufficed to indicate the Son, as there is no father without a son, and as wherever there is a father there is also a son. As to the Son they were going to teach us as much as possible concerning Him later.

After the word *Creator* they added, *Of all things visible and invisible* in order to show in this also the difference between the Son and the creatures : that He is the Father of the Son only, while He is the Creator of everything visible and invisible, as everything was created from nothing. He would not have been called Father of the Son and Creator of the creatures if there was not a great difference between the two : the difference that should exist between a Son and creatures. He is called and He is the Father of the Son, because He is of the same nature as the one who is said to be His Son, but He is the Creator of everything because everything was created from nothing ; and although the natures of the visible and invisible things differ among themselves yet all these created things, whether visible or invisible, came into existence by the will of their Maker. The fact that they were made from nothing is common to all of them, as all were created from nothing by the will of their Maker.

This is the reason why the blessed David said : "Praise ye the Lord from the heavens. Praise ye Him all His angles. Praise ye Him all His hosts. Praise ye Him sun and moon."<sup>1</sup> And he gradually enumerated all other creatures found in the heavens and on

<sup>1</sup> Ps. cxlviii. 1-3.

the earth, visible and invisible, mortal and immortal, rational and irrational, material and immaterial, those with life and those without life. When he invited them to the praise of God he gave one reason which holds good for all of them : " For He commanded, and they were created. He hath established them for ever and ever. He hath made a decree which shall not pass."<sup>1</sup> Because everything was created by Him and came into existence by His will, everything whether visible or not owes praise to the Creator.

Two things render it obligatory for us to praise God : because He is God and because He is Creator. We must, however, understand the difference between the two. It is not because He is Father that He is also Creator, and it is not because He is Creator that He is also Father. Indeed He is not the Creator of the One whose Father He is, nor is He the Father of those whose Creator He is. He is only the Father of the true and only Son who is in His Father's bosom, because He was born of Him and is with Him from eternity, but He is the Creator of all the things which are created and made, which are very remote from His essence and which were created by His will when He pleased. He is called and He is the Father of the Son because the latter is from Him and consubstantial with Him, and He is the Maker and the Creator of the creatures because He brought them to existence from nothing.

If He is called Father of men, He is not called their Father because He created them, but because of their proximity to Him and relation with Him. This is the reason why He is not called Father of all men but only of those who have relation with Him, such as " I have nourished and brought up children."<sup>2</sup> To these He granted by special favour to be called in this way. As such also is the sentence : " Israel is my son, even my first-born,"<sup>3</sup> because the others were not sons.<sup>4</sup>

Since we know the difference in our calling God : the Father of the Only Begotten who alone is the true Son because consubstantial with Him, and the Creator of everything which was created and came into

<sup>1</sup> Ps. cxlviii. 5-6.

<sup>2</sup> Is. i. 2.

<sup>3</sup> Exod. iv. 22.

<sup>4</sup> The words *baitāyūtha* and *karībūtha* used in these sentences may also be understood in the sense of the Pauline " adoption of Children " and of the doctrine of the membership of the household of God spoken of in Eph. ii. 19. See the following chapter.

being from nothing—we should retain this meaning in our faith. When, therefore, we say “Father,” “Maker” we ought not to conceive of God that which we conceive of men when we call them fathers and makers, but we ought to understand the difference between *Father* and *Maker* from the way they may be applied to us. Indeed even to us a father is one thing and a maker another thing. We are called the fathers of those who are from us and are born of our nature, but the makers of those things which are not of our nature but which were made and came into existence outside us. A house, a ship and similar things which are not of us are made by us.

Such being the case with us, we ought to think with a clear mind of the differences in God between the two terms of Father and Creator, and to understand that He is the Father of the only Son who was born of His nature, and the Creator of all the creatures, which were created and came into existence from nothing. For this He did not need any matter but He created the natures through which they are seen and exist.

Since we were created in the image of God,<sup>1</sup> we picture to ourselves the higher things that are said of God through an image taken from things that belong to us. In this way it is possible also to picture to ourselves what and how great is the difference in the belief in God as Father and as Creator from things belonging to us, although it is clear that there is a great difference between us and God; and this difference we ought not to overlook when thinking of Divine nature and the works done<sup>2</sup> by it. Indeed when we speak of Divine nature we must remove completely from our mind all things that happen to us through weakness. When we do a work we are in need of labour, matter and time; but God is above all these, because the moment He wished it, His works were completed out of nothing. From the fact also that we are born in labour and through human agency,<sup>3</sup> when we become fathers we need the nature of a female as matter, and a long period of time. Without these we cannot become fathers. As to God He is a Father without all these, because He did not experience labour nor did He make use of any material agency<sup>3</sup> nor did He need

<sup>1</sup> Gen. i. 24.

<sup>2</sup> Or: “servants created,” if we read ‘*abde*’ for ‘*ebāde*’ of the MS.

<sup>3</sup> Or “human seed,” or “movement” or “lapse of time.” (Syr. *marḏitha*.)

intercourse, nor did He wait for any lapse of time, but He was at once Father from eternity.

We should, therefore, rightly remove from God all unbecoming thoughts of things which happen to us through weakness whether in the domain of offspring or of work. We do everything in labour, and our nature itself emanates and suffers from it. As to God, He is above all these. Even when we reign, when we become governors, when we judge, when we speak, when we look, and do any other thing, we do all with labour; and when fatigue is protracted, it is followed by sweat; and because our nature is mortal and corruptible, it will perish through labour. As to God He does all things ascribed to Him, such as governing, providing, judging, reigning and the like without fatigue and without material agency.<sup>1</sup>

It is such an idea that we must have of God, and it is such a faith that we ought to possess concerning God the Father. When we call Him Father, we mean<sup>2</sup> Father of the Son; and He is truly a Father by nature, as we are. It is impossible to understand how He is truly a Father if He were not a Father by nature. He is eternally a Father because His nature, in which He is a Father, is eternal. When we call Him Creator we mean that He created everything in wisdom as it is said: "In wisdom Thou hast made them all,"<sup>3</sup> as we also do things in the wisdom of the skill that we possess.

It is in this kind of profession of faith and with this meaning that our blessed Fathers gave us the belief in one God, Father and Creator, whom we have tried to explain to your love in a long discourse, which you should keep without modification, so that you should flee from the iniquitous opinions of the heretics, while your faith is sound, by the grace of our Lord Jesus Christ to whom, in conjunction with His Father and the Holy Spirit, be glory and honour for ever and ever. Amen.

*Here ends the second chapter.*

<sup>1</sup> Here again is the Syriac word *marditha*.

<sup>2</sup> Lit. let us call Him.

<sup>3</sup> Ps. civ. 24.

## CHAPTER III.

*On Faith.*

I believe that from what has been said you have learnt sufficiently which are the things that those whose solicitude is the fear of God have to understand and utter concerning God the Father. Let us now quote and examine also the words uttered by our blessed Fathers in the profession of faith concerning the Son : *And in one Lord Jesus Christ the only Son of God and the first-born of all the creatures.*

It was right that after their doctrine concerning the Father they should teach concerning the Son according to the teaching of our Lord, while preserving the order and the sequence of their words. As when speaking of the Father they not only said "Father" according to the teaching of our Lord, but added *in one God the Father and the Creator of all things*, and first placed the name of God in the profession of faith by saying that He is one in order to refute the error of polytheism, and then added, *the Father and the Creator of all things*—so also they acted concerning the Son : *In one Lord Jesus Christ the only Son of God and the first-born of all the creatures.* In this they clearly followed the example of the blessed Paul, who when teaching against idols and erroneous creeds said in refutation of the error of polytheism : "There is but one God,"<sup>1</sup> and because he knew that we hold the doctrine of the faith in the Father, the Son and the Holy Spirit, he strove openly to show us that the question of the faith in these persons does not inflict any injury on us in our faith<sup>2</sup> nor does it lead us to the error of polytheism.

Because we know that the Divine nature of the Father, of the Son and of the Holy Spirit is one, when he desired to teach us this faith in a succinct manner he said : "To us there is but one God, the Father, of whom are all things."<sup>3</sup> In saying "one God the Father" he confuted all the error of polytheism, and showed that to us one Divine nature is preached. After this he said : "And one Lord Jesus Christ by whom are all things"<sup>4</sup> in order to proclaim the Father, the Son and the Holy Spirit together, while including also in his sentence the Incarnation of our Lord which took place for our salvation and in

<sup>1</sup> 1 Cor. viii. 6.<sup>2</sup> Lit. fear of God.<sup>3</sup> 1 Cor. viii. 6.<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*



which Divine nature became our Saviour. When he says : "one Lord by whom are all things" he alludes to God the Word who is a true Son consubstantial with His Father. He called Him rightly Lord in order to make us understand that He is from the Divine nature of God the Father.

We do not say "one God" in the sense that the Son is not God, nor "the Son, one Lord" in the sense that the Father is not Lord, because it is known and evident that any one who is truly God is also truly Lord, and any one who is truly Lord is also truly God, and any one who is not truly God is not truly Lord : "The Lord thy God is one Lord,"<sup>1</sup> as He alone is so in truth. He who possesses these true attributes is alone called Lord and God in truth, and there is no other thing outside this nature which may be called Lord and God in truth. He who says "one God" shows also that there is one Lord, and he who says "there is but one Lord" confesses also that there is but one God. He (Paul) first said : "There is but one God" and immediately after "there is but one Lord," in order to separate the persons, because in repeating the word "one" about each one of them he showed that the two persons are to be known as of one Divine nature, which is truly both Lord and God.

In order to include in their sentence the human nature which was assumed for our salvation they said : *In one Lord Jesus Christ*. This name is that of the man whom God put on, as the angel said : "She shall bring forth a Son whose name shall be called 'Jesus.'"<sup>2</sup> They added also the word *Christ* in order to allude to the Holy Spirit, as it is written : "Jesus of Nazareth whom God anointed with the Holy Ghost and with power."<sup>3</sup> And He is God because of the close union with that Divine nature which is truly God.

In this same way our blessed Fathers who assembled in that wonderful Council of the Catholic Church of Nicea first spoke, like Paul, of Divine nature while coupling with it a word which denotes the form of humanity which He took upon Him<sup>4</sup> and said : *And in one Lord Jesus Christ the only Son of God and the first-born of all creatures*. It is thus that they wished to teach mankind when they spoke of the Divine nature of the Son. His humanity in which is Divine nature is also proclaimed in it, and this divine Nature is thus

<sup>1</sup> Deut. vi. 4.

<sup>2</sup> Acts x. 38.

<sup>3</sup> Matt. i. 21 ; Luke i. 31.

<sup>4</sup> Philip. ii. 7.



In this same way they said also : *The only Son and the first-born of all creatures*. Because they were on the point of enlightening us concerning the two natures : how they are, which was the Divine nature which came down, and which was the human nature which was assumed—they used in advance these two expressions together in order to indicate the two natures through them. It is clear that they do not speak of one nature when they say : *The only Son and the first-born of all creatures*, because the two expressions cannot be said of one nature, as there is a great difference between an only son and a first-born. It is not possible that an only son and a first-born should denote the same man. A first-born is the one who has many brothers while an only son is the one who has no brothers. So great is the difference between an only son and a first-born that it may be compared with the difference that nature places between the one who is alone and the one who is in company of others.

We call an only son one who has no other brothers at all while we call a first-born one who clearly has other brothers. This the Sacred Books teach us also without ambiguity. In wishing to speak of an only son they say : “We beheld His glory, the glory as of the only begotten of the Father, full of grace and truth.”<sup>1</sup> They say also : “The only begotten Son who is in the bosom of the Father,”<sup>2</sup> so that by His close proximity to His Father He might be known as an only Son. The sentence, “We beheld His glory, the glory as of an only begotten of the Father” shows that He alone is of the nature of the Father by birth, and He alone is a Son. In using the word “bosom” they convey to us a union that never ceases, as it is unbecoming to understand this word to refer to a corporeal bosom of God. Inasmuch as they call eye “sight” and ear “hearing,” so also they call a union that never ceases “bosom.” It has likewise been said : “Render unto our neighbours sevenfold into their bosom,”<sup>3</sup> that is to say let them receive punishment continually and always. The expression “only Son” that has been used signifies, therefore, that He is alone born of the Father, that He is alone Son, that He is always with His Father and is known with Him, because He is truly a Son from His Father.

This is how we understand the expression “the first-born of all the

<sup>1</sup> John i. 14.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, 18.

<sup>3</sup> Ps. lxxi. 9, 12.

creatures." And it is also said : "For whom He did foreknow He also did predestinate, and He formed them to the image of His Son that He might be the first-born among many brethren."<sup>1</sup> (Paul) did not make use of this word in order to show us that He is Son alone, but in order to make us understand that He has many brethren and that He is known among many since they acquired with Him participation in the adoption of sons,<sup>2</sup> and because of them He is called first-born as they are His brothers. In another passage He is called "first-born of all the creatures."<sup>3</sup> This is also said about the humanity of Christ, because (Paul) did not simply say "first-born" but "first-born of all the creatures."

No one is called first-born if he has no other brothers because of whom he is called and is a first-born, so the expression "the first-born of all creatures" means that He was the first to be renewed by His resurrection from the dead ; and He changed into a new and wonderful life, and He renewed also all the creatures and brought them to a new and a higher creation. It is indeed said : "Everything that is in Christ is a new creature. Old things are passed away, and all things are become new through our Lord Jesus Christ."<sup>4</sup> He is the first-born of all the creatures because all the creation was renewed and changed through the renewal which He granted to it by His grace from the renewal into which He Himself was renewed ; and He moved to a new life and ascended high above all creatures.

He is rightly called the first-born of all the creatures, because He was first renewed, and then He renewed the creatures, while He is higher in honour than all of them. This is how we understand the difference between the two names. Our Fathers, who took their wisdom from Holy Writ, referred this difference to one person and said : *In an only Son, the first-born of all creatures*, in order to show us, as I said previously, the close union of the two natures. It is with justice, therefore, that they first said, "an only Son" and then, "the first-born." Indeed they had first to show us who was the one who was in the form of God,<sup>5</sup> but because of His grace took upon Him our nature, and afterwards to speak of that form of a servant which was assumed for our salvation. In this way and by the change in the terms that they used, they made manifest to us the two natures and

<sup>1</sup> Rom. viii. 29.

<sup>3</sup> Col. i. 15.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, 23 ; Galat. iv. 5 ; Eph. i. 5.

<sup>4</sup> 2 Cor. v. 17.

<sup>5</sup> Phil. ii. 7.

differences, and also the unity of sonship arising out of the closeness of the union which was effected by the will of God. In this they kept also the right order of things as they taught first concerning Divine nature which by its grace came down to us and put on humanity, and then concerning that humanity which was assumed through grace, and afterwards they gave the true doctrine for the refutation of the heretics who strove to twist the truth.

In their teaching they began later to speak of Divine nature about which they had already spoken at the beginning of the profession of faith : *Who was born before all the worlds, and not created.* It is clear that they said these words concerning Divine nature, although the word "only Son" was sufficient to teach the true doctrine concerning the Son to all non-contentious. If He is an only Son, it is clear that He alone is born of God, and He alone is a Son consubstantial with His Father. The expression "only Son" denotes all these things, and even more, because those who are called sons of God are numerous, while this one is alone the only Son. It is, indeed written : "I have said, Ye are gods, and all of you children of the Most High,"<sup>1</sup> and again, "I have nourished and brought up children."<sup>2</sup> Since there are many who are called "sons" this one would not have been called "an only Son" if there was not a great difference between them. They were called sons by grace because they became near to God and members of the household,<sup>3</sup> and because of this membership of the household they deserved by grace to be called by this name. This one, however, was called an only Son because He alone is a Son consubstantial with His Father. He was not called a Son, because He, like others, became by grace worthy of the adoption of sons, but because He was born of the very nature (of the Father) He was called and He is a Son. Although these things are clear and evident in the Sacred Books, and although it is patent to every one that no one can be called an only son unless he be truly of the same nature as his father, the unholy and erroneous opinion of the heretics remained without rectification.

Of all those who had received the knowledge of Christ, Arius was the first to dare and to say impiously that the Son was a creature<sup>4</sup> and was made from nothing : a novel theory alien to public opinion and

<sup>1</sup> Ps. lxxxii. 6.

<sup>2</sup> Is. i. 2.

<sup>3</sup> Eph. ii. 19.

<sup>4</sup> Or "a servant," if we read *'abda*, instead of *'ebādha*.



to the laws of nature, as any one who is created is not a Son, and any one who is a Son is not a creature, because it is impossible that a creature should be called a true Son or a true Son to be called a creature. This compelled our blessed Fathers to assemble from all regions and hold a holy Synod in the town of Nicea in the district of Bithynia, and to write this (profession of) faith in order to uphold the true faith, to confute the wickedness of Arius, to refute those who sprang up later and who are called by the name of their deceiver Eunomius, and to overthrow those heresies which arose out of erroneous opinions. Although the question was clear and evident to all from the law of nature, from public opinion and from the teaching of the Sacred Books, they added and said : *Born and not created.*

They used words suitable to the belief in the Son, as if they had said : we call Him a Son, not a mere man and not like one who is figuratively called so—such as those who are by grace called children because of their adoption as sons—but alone a true Son. He is a true Son because He is an only Son ; and He is born of His Father, is from Him and from His nature, and is eternally like Him. There is no created thing that is before the worlds, as the one who is before the worlds is the one who is alone from eternity. As the Father is from eternity so also the Son who is from Him is from eternity. He did not come into existence after a time nor was He born later, but He was born eternally before all the worlds from the one who is from eternity, and He is with Him from eternity as the evangelist said : “In the beginning was the Word.”<sup>1</sup>

He is from eternity, and did not come into existence later, but He was in the beginning before everything. He who comes into existence later is called “the last,” and the last is not the first ; and he who is not the first was not in the beginning. If, therefore, He was in the beginning, He was also the first, as there is nothing that precedes the beginning. If He is the first He is not the last, and if He is not the last He did not come into existence later.

In the beginning He was,<sup>2</sup> and He was in the beginning from God, that is to say He was from eternity and before all the worlds with God. And to show that He was with God, and not from outside, as something foreign and not from the very nature of Divinity, the blessed evangelist called Him “Word,” because a word belongs to

<sup>1</sup> John i. 1.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*

a man and is from a man ; and since it is possible that the being who was with Him was from another he made use of this illustration so that the hearers should not doubt that He was from eternity from the one who is eternally from eternity. Indeed, the word of the soul, the rational character of which is accomplished in itself, is with it and in it by nature, and it is through it that this same soul is known to be rational. And it comes out of the soul, and is seen from it and with it, and is always with it and known through it.

In this same way the Son is from the Father like the word is from the soul. He is eternally from Him, with Him and in Him, and He is known from eternity with Him. "He was in the beginning," that is to say He was from eternity, from the beginning, and before everything ; not that He came into existence later, but that He was in the beginning and always ; that He was eternally from Him and eternally with Him, like the word is with the soul, from which and with which it always is.

The word, however, is seen as something different from the soul, and is the personality<sup>1</sup> of the soul, because not having its own personality it is seen in the soul. In order that, by following this illustration, we may not believe that the Son has no personality<sup>1</sup> or that He was alien to the nature of the Father he quickly added : "And the Word was God." After saying that He "was" and that He "was with God" he added "And the Word was God" so that he should show clearly that He was not from a nature different from that of God, or that He was different from Him in the Godhead, but that He was identical with the one from whom He was and that He was God with the one who was God.

He said wonderfully : "And the Word was God" in order to show that He is what God is, and that He is what our blessed Fathers rightly described : *Born of Him before all the worlds*. In this they wished to convey that from eternity and before all the worlds He was in the beginning from Him and with Him. Their words did not stop here but to complete the doctrine of truth, to warn the children of faith and to overthrow the error of the heretics, they added the sentence : *He was not created*.

We should be in need of many words if we intended to comment fully upon all things said by our blessed Fathers concerning the Divinity

<sup>1</sup> Lit. person (*Kenōma*).

of the Only Begotten. In order, however, to lighten to you the burden of the many things that are said to you we shall utter them little by little so that you may better be able to hear and to learn them. With your permission, therefore, we shall put an end here to the things that were said to-day, and keep the things that follow (in the *credo*) to another day, and for all of them let us praise the Father, the Only Begotten and the Holy Spirit, now, always, and for ever and ever. Amen.

*Here ends the third chapter.*

#### CHAPTER IV.

Yesterday we endeavoured to interpret to your love, according to our ability and in a succinct manner, the things said by our blessed Fathers concerning the Divinity of the Only Begotten, while we kept the remainder of them for another day. In our commentary we reached, as you remember, the sentence in which it is said : *Born of His Father before all the worlds, and not created.* If you wish, let us now begin by the grace of our Lord with this sentence. We were stating that in saying : *Born of His Father before all the worlds* they showed us that He is a Son truly and not figuratively only, as the heretics pretend that He is a Son only in a borrowed name like those who were called sons by grace. He is indeed alone the true Son of God the Father because He is the Only Begotten and is alone born of God His Father. This is the reason why they added : *Born of His Father before all the worlds.*

This was due to the Only Begotten Son of God, who is a true Son and not in name only. And He is from the nature of the Father and eternally from Him and with Him. It is not possible for us to imagine that there is anything between God the Father and God the Son, as God is high above everything. He who is above everything is also above the time and from eternity. If, therefore, God the Father is eternal, and if the Son is God, He is also eternal, God from God, and Eternal from Eternal, and there is nothing between God and God. As it is not possible to imagine that either times or worlds precede God, so there is nothing before the Son as He also is God, because He is born of His Father before everything, and is eternal, born of the One who is eternal.

For a perfect faith to those who have the good-will of religion this name of "Only Begotten" would have been sufficient, and they would have agreed to say that He was a true Son. (Our Fathers), however, added to it the sentence : *Born of Him before all the worlds*. Both phrases demonstrate how the Only Begotten is the Son of God, and it is with justice that they added for the refutation of the haters of truth : *He was not created*. We confess that He is the Only Begotten, the Son of God, born of the Father before all the worlds, and that He is consubstantial with the Father ; and we completely reject the opinion held by the ungodly people who said that the Son of God is created. He is indeed born of God and He is not created, and He is of the same nature as God and not a creature.<sup>1</sup> A Son is very different from a servant.

If He is a Son He is not a creature, and if He is a creature He is not a Son. If He is a Son He is from Him and not from outside Him, and if He is a creature He is from outside Him. If He is a Son He is from Him and like Him, and if He is a creature He is from outside Him and not from Him and like Him. The natural law teaches us also these things, because we call sons those who are born of us ; as to creatures they are made outside us while they were not. Likewise we understand that there are many creatures of God, but the Son is One whom we also call Only Begotten.

The Son is one alone, and He is eternally from Him ; as to creatures they are many and exceed all numbering, and are composed of many natures which came into existence later according to the will of their Maker, both individually and collectively. He knew that diversity was useful to the creature because it is created, and some parts of it came into existence earlier, some later and some others later still ; parts of it came into existence at the same time, and parts after many others. Since all the created things were to come into existence it was justifiable that some should come earlier and some later.

As there is a beginning to the existence of all created things, those which came into existence later are like those which came into existence earlier. As to the Son, because He did not come into existence to His Father later but was in the beginning from Him and was from eternity with Him, is alone Son. It was not possible that the one

<sup>1</sup> The word "creature" may be translated in all this section by "work," "a created being," a sense which in reality fits some sentences better.

who was similar to the one who is from eternity should have come into existence later, nor was it possible that the one who has a beginning should have been similar to the one who is from eternity. Indeed there is a great difference between one who is from eternity and one who came into existence later ; the difference is so great that the two cannot exist concomitantly. What possible relation can exist between one who is eternal and another who was at one time non-existent and came into existence later ?

It is well known that the one who is eternal and the one whose existence came into being later are greatly separated from each other, and the gulf found between them is unbridgeable. The one who is from the beginning has no limits, while the one whose existence has a beginning, his very existence is limited, and the one the beginning of whose existence is limited, the time that elapsed before he came into existence is also limited. It is not possible to limit and define the chasm that exists between the one who is from eternity and the one who began to exist at a time when he was not. What possible resemblance and relation can exist between two beings so widely separated from each other ? And because the Son is from eternity, and from a Father who is from eternity, no other son like Him came into existence later. He remained Son alone because He is from eternity from one who is from eternity. It was fitting that such a one should be alone the Son from the Father.

In this way our Fathers warned us concerning the knowledge of the Son, and wrote to us the true doctrine to the effect that when we believe in an Only Begotten we should understand that He is from the Father. They taught us also to flee from the impiety of the heretics and reject their contention that the Son is created, as this is very remote from the truth. The Son should not be thought of as a made being nor as a creature, but we ought to profess concerning Father and Son what is congruous to both of them, namely that the Son is from the nature of the Father and is not a being made by the Father and created outside Him from nothing.

Our blessed Fathers taught us these and added something that fits the sequence of the sentence : *True God from true God*. Indeed what else were we justified in thinking of the one who is from God and not from outside Him but from the very nature of the Father, except that He was what God is by nature, that is to say a true God ?



In this they followed the teaching of the Gospel in which it is said : " And the Word was with God, and the Word was God,"<sup>1</sup> as if the evangelist had said, " And God was with God, and He was what He was, as He was with Him and from Him." In this way our Fathers said also : *True God from true God*. They added to the sentence, " God from God " that of, " True from true " because of the wickedness of those who wish to show contention and insolence even concerning heavenly<sup>2</sup> things.

The sentence which they used does not differ from that found in the Gospel, as it is clear that the one who says, " God with God " says also " A true one from a true one." The (Gospel) does not say " And He is called God," like those who are called gods by men, nor, " He was with the one who was called God by name only," but, " He was God with the one who was God." Men are called gods, but are not assumed to be gods by nature : " I have said, Ye are gods, and all of you children of the Most High, but ye shall die like men,"<sup>3</sup> because I only called you so to bestow honour upon you, as you are not gods by nature ; you are mortal men by nature, which is very different from Divine nature ; this is evident from the nature of things, because if you had been gods by nature you would not have been entangled in sin for which you received death."

God is not only called God by name, but He is in reality by nature that which is implied by His name ; and God the Word who is with Him is not only called God figuratively, but is also God by nature ; and he who is God by nature what else can he be except true God ? What is there truer than nature, and how is it possible that the one who is (God) by nature should not be so in truth ? If He is not God by nature, He is neither God in truth. Indeed this name " god " is either applied to demons, who falsely and insolently dare to call themselves by it in their arrogance, or to men who are called so by God's permission as an honour. As to the Son He is God by nature like the Father.

Although the heretics dare to call the Only Begotten, " Son of God " in a different sense, yet since He is God by nature it is evident that He is also God in truth, as there is nothing truer than the one who is what he is by nature. It is indeed evident that the one who is God by nature is also God in truth. And there is nothing truer

<sup>1</sup> John i. 1.

<sup>2</sup> Lit. high.

<sup>3</sup> Ps. lxxxii. 6.

than a true one (and this contrary to), the new wisdom of the heretics, when each of them is a true (God) by nature. Indeed they say that God the Father is God by nature and that God the Son is also God by nature, but they refuse to admit that the Son is God in truth, in spite of the fact that they admit that He is God by nature, and in this they introduce a new law to us in their innovations to the effect that He is God but not like God His Father. If each one of them is God by nature, how is it possible for us to understand that one of them is higher and the other lower while both of them are assumed to have an identical nature? It is impossible to find an addition or a diminution in the one whom the Sacred Books and those who followed their doctrine teach us that He is God by nature.

Our blessed Fathers also followed the Books and warned us against the unholy opinion and the ineptitude of the heretics, in saying: *True God from true God*. The Books had already stated that He was "God," and they (our Fathers) added prudently the word "true" so that we might believe that the Son is a true God like the Father, because like the Father He is God in a true nature. And as the Father was confessed as God for the confutation of the error of the multiplicity of gods—who were falsely called gods by the peoples of the earth—so also is the case with the Son of God, because we believe that God the Father and God the Son are one God, inasmuch as the Divine nature of the Father and of the Son is one.

To this our blessed Fathers added that the Son was "consubstantial" with His Father, a word that confirms (the faith of) the children of faith and rebukes the unbelievers. Although this is not explicitly written in Holy Writ yet its meaning is found therein. They explained here by means of a clear word the meaning of that which they had previously stated, because the sentence: *Consubstantial with the Father* is not different from that of: *True God from true God*. They did not wish to insinuate by this sentence "Consubstantial with the Father" any other thing than that the being who, as previously stated by them, was God and born of His Father before all the worlds and not created—is God. Indeed, if He is born of Him before all the worlds and is not created, and if He is not a creature but a true Son of His Father, it is evident that He is from Him and not from outside Him, and that He is born of the nature of the Father and consubstantial with Him; and if He is true God from true God, it is

evident that He is consubstantial with Him,<sup>1</sup> because any one who is truly God in nature is consubstantial with one who is truly God in nature.

The meaning of the sentence "consubstantial with His Father" is clearly found in the Book. When it says: "In the beginning He was with God and He was God,"<sup>2</sup> it shows by means of these two phrases that He is God in nature and that He is consubstantial with God. This is also the meaning of the sentence: "My Father and I are one."<sup>3</sup> If the Son is one with His Father in power and in nature, He is consubstantial with Him. By His statement: "My sheep hear my voice and follow me, and I give unto them eternal life, and no man shall pluck them out of my hand,"<sup>4</sup> He bore witness to His omnipotence and to the fact that no man can prevail against Him; and because this sentence conveyed higher things than the simple man who was seen in Him, He added: "My Father who gave them me is greater than all, and no man is able to pluck (them) out of my Father's hand."<sup>5</sup> He lowered the significance of the sentence by the addition: "He gave me." What He said of Himself to the effect that no man can prevail against Him, He said it of His person; and to show that He did make use of such words for the purpose of showing that the power of both (the Father and the Son) was identical and that no man was able to prevail against Him in the same way as no man was able to prevail against the Father who was believed to be higher than all, He said: "My Father and I are one."

He made clear in this (sentence) that which He had implicitly insinuated in the meaning of the preceding words which He had uttered; it is as if He had said, "my power is identical with that of my Father and higher than all like His power, and no man can prevail against me even as no man can prevail against my Father, because my Father and I are one, and have one power and one dominion that is higher than all." This is the reason why the Jews called Him a blasphemer. Indeed they did not know the Divine nature that was dwelling in Him, but knew only that which was visible in Him, and wished to stone Him like a man making use of blasphemous words.

To the same effect is the sentence: "He that hath seen me hath

<sup>1</sup> Lit. "one is consubstantial with the other," or "this is consubstantial with that."

<sup>2</sup> John i. 1.

<sup>3</sup> John x. 30.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, 27-28.

<sup>5</sup> *ibid.*, 29.

seen my Father,"<sup>1</sup> and : "I am in my Father and my Father in me."<sup>2</sup> If the Father is seen in the Son it is evident that both have one nature, and each of them is seen and known in the other. In this way their mutual equality shows also the unity of their nature, and the consubstantiality of the Son with the Father. This is likewise the meaning of the sentence : "No man knoweth the Son but the Father, neither knoweth any man the Father save the Son."<sup>3</sup> If each of them is not known and seen except by the other, it is evident that they are invisible to all men because of their equality in nature, each of them only knowing the other. If this is so then the Son is consubstantial with the Father.

In spite of the fact that all these things are manifestly evident in the Sacred Books, those who incline and lean towards evil for the condemnation of their souls dared to say that the nature of the Son is different from that of the Father, a saying which also implies that He is not a Son. It is known that he who is truly a son is of the same nature as his father. Our blessed Fathers were well advised, therefore, to make use of this expression the meaning of which was implicitly found in the Sacred Books, in order to warn the faithful of their time and to rebuke the heretics ; and they wished also to make it known in condensed words. If the blessed Paul did not hesitate to quote in his teaching sentences that were used by Greek philosophers, such as : "we are of the offspring of gods,"<sup>4</sup> and : "The Cretians are always liars, evil beasts, slow bellies,"<sup>5</sup> and if he did not shrink from writing them, it was all the more right for our blessed Fathers to make use in the profession of faith of the expression that the Son was *Consubstantial* with the Father, and although this word is not explicitly written in the Sacred Books, its meaning was implicitly found in many passages.

After this they said : *By Whom the worlds were made and all things were created.*

As in the section of the faith which deals with the Father, after the word "Father" they added "Creator of all things," so also in the section which deals with the Son, after stating that He was born of the Father and was consubstantial with Him, they added that He was the creator of all things, because a true Son

<sup>1</sup> John xiv. 9.

<sup>4</sup> Acts xvii. 28.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, 11.

<sup>5</sup> Tit. i. 12.

<sup>3</sup> Matt. xi. 27.

who is consubstantial with His Father is also a true creator like Him. In this same way the blessed John the evangelist, after having said "in the beginning He was with God, and He was God"<sup>1</sup> added : "All things were made by Him and without Him was not anything made,"<sup>2</sup> in order to show us that He was a creator like God His Father.

In this same way after our blessed Fathers had said that the Son was from the Father, that He was true God from true God and that He was consubstantial with His Father, they added : *By whom the worlds were made and all things were created.* They said this because as He is with His Father before all the worlds, He is the creator of all things like God His Father. And since the worlds were made by Him, He is the creator of all creatures, and He is before all the worlds, because He is from eternity and did not begin to exist later, but was in the beginning and is the creator of all the worlds, as the blessed Paul said : "By Him He made the worlds."<sup>3</sup>

Our blessed Fathers also after saying like him : "By Him the worlds were made," added that He was the creator of all things. In this way they taught us the divinity of the Only Begotten while stating something which was in harmony with the Sacred Books ; and gave also encouragement to those who are zealous in their religion, and confuted those who deny the divinity of the Only Begotten.

As to us we have explained to your love the meaning of the (profession of) faith in a succinct manner, according to our ability. If you wish it let the measure of the things which we said suffice for our teaching of to-day, and let us praise the Father, the Son, and the Holy Spirit for ever and ever. Amen.

*Here ends the fourth chapter.*

## CHAPTER V.

I know that you remember what we spoke to your love concerning the divinity of the Only Begotten, and how our blessed Fathers after their teaching about the Father came to the words written in the Sacred Books concerning the Son, and taught us both about the divinity of the Son and the form of man which He assumed for our



salvation.<sup>1</sup> They thought not to keep silent on the human nature which He put on because it is through it that we received the knowledge of the Divine nature of the Only Begotten.

After saying : *And in one Lord Jesus Christ*, in order to make manifest the Divine nature and the human nature they added : *Only Begotten Son and first-born of all creatures*, and they further instructed us concerning Divine nature and the form of man which was put on for our salvation so that little by little they might teach us everything with accuracy.

They first taught us how to believe in the divinity of the Only Begotten by saying that the Only Begotten was consubstantial with the Father, and not a Son with only an assumed name like other men who are so by grace and not by nature, but that He was a true Son from the Father ; that He was an only Son, because He alone was born of the nature of His Father ; that He did not become Son or was called so later, but that He was in the beginning, before all the worlds and eternally from His Father, and was not created. The reason why the Son of God should not be called a creature of God, is that He did not come into existence from nothing according to the law of all created beings, but He is eternally from His Father, "a true God from true God, and consubstantial with His Father," because He is a true Son and is by nature what the one who begat Him is.

Our fathers taught us these things with accuracy concerning the divinity of the Only Begotten, and fixed the profession of faith in our souls while removing from us the contention of the ungodly who dare to assert that the Son of God, who was born eternally from His Father before all the worlds, is made and created. After having shaken from our mind all the falsehood of the error of the heretics, they began to speak of the Incarnation of our Lord which took place for our salvation, in saying : *Who for us children of men and for our salvation came down from heaven, was incarnate and became a man.*

It is with justice that they first used the sentence "for us children of men and for our salvation." Because they were on the point of speaking about the economy of His humanity, they were bound to show the purpose of it, as they could not do this with the words which

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Rom. viii. 3 ; Phil. ii. 7, etc.

dealt with the divinity of the Only Begotten and in which they spoke to us how He was eternally from His Father. Since they took pains to teach us concerning His humanity, it is with justice that before everything they set forth the reason for which Divine nature humbled itself to the extent of taking upon itself the form of a servant for us<sup>1</sup> and of its caring for our salvation. It is with justice, therefore, that our fathers, in beginning their teaching concerning the economy of His humanity, formed the starting-point of their discourse from this purpose : *For us children of men and for our salvation.* It was also fitting on their part to place the words "for our salvation" after the words "for us children of men," in order that they might show the aim of His coming, which was not only for the "children of men" but also "for their salvation." He came down to save and to deliver from evil, by an ineffable grace, those who were lost<sup>2</sup> and given up to iniquities.

He came down not in the sense that He moved from place to place. We are not to think that Divine nature which is everywhere moves from place to place ; because this Divine nature has no body, it cannot be circumscribed in a place. He who is not circumscribed is everywhere, and He who is everywhere it is not possible for us to think of Him that He moves from place to place. To this the blessed John bears witness when he says : "He was in the world and the world was made by Him and the world knew Him not. He came unto His own and His own received Him not."<sup>3</sup> He says here that "He was in the world" and that "He came unto the world" ; but if He was in the world how did He come to it ? Indeed, how can we say that a man came to a place where he was ? He, therefore, said "He was in the world" in order to show that He was everywhere ; and he added : "He came unto His own," about the Economy of His humanity. Likewise the blessed David said : "He bowed the heavens and came down,"<sup>4</sup> in order to make manifest to us the deliverance from their tribulations which God effected for them. He called the condescension of God the "coming down" of God, in the sense that He who was so much above all came down to deliver them from their tribulations.

<sup>1</sup> Phil. ii. 7.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Matt. xviii. 11.

<sup>3</sup> John i. 10-11.

<sup>4</sup> Ps. xviii. 9.

It is in this sense that God the Word, the only Son of God, is said to have come down for our salvation, because He is eternally from His Father, is always with Him, and is above all as He is the cause of everything. For our salvation He condescended to come down to such a humility as to take upon Him the form of a servant<sup>1</sup> and be in it so that through it<sup>2</sup> He might grant us to delight in His abundant gift. It is with justice, therefore, that our blessed Fathers said: *Who for us children of men and for our salvation came down from heaven.* They called the Economy of His humanity a "coming down from heaven," at which the blessed David was awe-struck and said: "What is man that Thou art mindful of him, and the son of man that Thou visitest him?"<sup>3</sup>

*Who for us children of men and for our salvation came down from heaven:* what is His coming down and what is its aim? And what did man do that He humbled Himself to such an extent for him as to become like him, and to take upon Him the form of a servant, and to be a man for our salvation, and to make Himself manifest to all, and to assume upon Himself all that which belonged to the nature of that man, and to be exercised in all (human) faculties? And He perfected him by His power, so that He did not remove from him the (bodily) death which he received according to the law of his nature,—but while He was with him He delivered him from (real) death and from the corruption of the grave,<sup>4</sup> and raised him from the dead, and made him worthy of a high honour concerning which he said: "Destroy this temple, and in three days I will raise it up,"<sup>5</sup> which he did; and He was not separated from him in his crucifixion nor did He leave him at death, but He remained with him until He helped him to loose<sup>6</sup> the pains of death<sup>7</sup> and He delivered his soul from bonds which were indissoluble; and He raised him from the dead and transferred him to immortal life,<sup>8</sup> and made him immortal and incorruptible; and He caused him to go up to heaven where he is now sitting at the right hand of God; and he is "far

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Phil. ii. 7.

<sup>2</sup> Lit. "from there."

<sup>3</sup> Ps. viii. 4.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. Ps. xvi. 10; Acts ii. 27; xiii. 35.

<sup>5</sup> John ii. 19.

<sup>6</sup> Lit. "until with help he loosed."

<sup>7</sup> Acts ii. 24.

<sup>8</sup> This passage is quoted in the Acts of the Fifth Council (Mansi, ix, p. 218). It is stated in this Council that it is culled from Theodore's book *ad baptizandos* instead of the present work. See the "Prefatory Note."

above all principality, and power, and might, and dominion, and every name that is named, not only in this world, but also in that which is to come"<sup>1</sup> as the blessed Paul testifies ; and he constantly receives adoration from all creation because of his close union with God the Word.

It is with justice, therefore, that our blessed Fathers said that He was incarnate and became a man, so that for the sake of our salvation He might act according to all this Economy whereby He was believed to be a mere man by those who were unaware of the Godhead which was dwelling in Him and who only saw that which was visible. Indeed the Jews said to Him : "For good works we stone Thee not, but for blasphemy ; and because that Thou, being a man, makest Thyself God."<sup>2</sup> And Paul also said, "He was in the likeness of men, and was found in fashion as a man."<sup>3</sup> The (sentence) "He was in the likeness of men" does not mean any other thing than that He was a man. When the Book said : "God sent His own Son who became in the likeness of the sinful flesh,"<sup>4</sup> the "likeness of the flesh" does not mean any other thing than flesh itself ; and so also when in another passage it says : "He was manifest in the flesh."<sup>5</sup> In this passage it uses "flesh" and in the other "likeness," but by the two expressions "flesh" and "likeness of the flesh" it does not show us any other thing than that it teaches us that He was manifest in the flesh, in the same way as "in the likeness of man" does not mean any other thing than "man."

It is with justice, therefore, that our blessed Fathers said : *He was incarnate and became a man* in order to show that He was a man, as the blessed Paul testifies, and that He fulfilled this Economy for the salvation of all. It is with justice then that our blessed Fathers made use of this word for the refutation of the error of the heretics while conforming with the true belief of the Church. And on account of the numerous schisms that had taken place among men concerning that ineffable Economy and concerning the man whom our Lord assumed, they rightly made use of the sentence : *He was incarnate and became a man.*

The Marcionites and the Manicheans together with the followers of Valentinus and the rest of the heretics who were affected with

Ephes. i. 21.

<sup>4</sup> Rom. viii. 3.

<sup>2</sup> John x. 33.

<sup>5</sup> 1 Tim. iii. 16.

<sup>3</sup> Phil. ii. 7-8.

a like malady, say that our Lord did not assume any of our natures either of the body or the soul, but that He was a phantasm that struck the eyes of men such as the visions which the prophets saw and the apparition seen by Abraham of three men of whom none had a corporeal nature but who were only in appearance men who performed human acts, walked, talked, suffered to be washed, ate and drank. They say that in this same way our Lord did not assume any body but that He was only in appearance a man who performed and felt everything according to the requirements of men, while the one who was seen had no human nature but was only seen in appearance to be so, and that in reality He felt nothing but only the onlookers believed that He was feeling.

The partisans of Arius and Eunomius, however, say that He assumed a body but not a soul, and that the nature of the Godhead took the place of the soul. They lowered the Divine nature of the Only Begotten to the extent that from the greatness of its nature it moved and performed the acts of the soul and imprisoned itself in the body and did everything for its sustenance. Lo, if the Godhead had replaced the soul He would not have been hungry or thirsty, nor would He have tired or been in need of food. All these things befall the body because of its weakness, and the soul is not able to satisfy its wants, but does for it only those things that belong to itself<sup>1</sup> according to the nature given to it by God. The soul is in need of a body which is perfect in everything that deals with its sustenance, and if something is missing in it, not only this same soul is unable to help it but will itself be overcome by the weakness of the body, and will be compelled to leave it against its own will.

If, therefore, the Godhead was performing the acts of the soul, it would also by necessity have performed the acts of the body. Only in this way could be right the opinion of the misleading heretics who deny that He assumed a body and was only seen in the same way as the angels (were seen in the Old Testament), and was a man in appearance only while He did not possess any qualities of human nature. Indeed the Godhead was able to accomplish everything so that the eyes which were seeing believed that they were seeing a real man,<sup>2</sup> in the same way as the angels were, by the will of God, seen by Abraham.

<sup>1</sup> *I.e.* to the soul.

<sup>2</sup> *Lit.* "a man like a man."



If, however, Divine nature was sufficient for all these things, human nature which was in need of the grace of salvation from God should not have been assumed, as according to the opinion of the heretics this same Godhead would have satisfied the requirements of human nature, and in this case it would have been superfluous to assume a body at all as the Godhead was able to perform all its acts. This, however, was not the will of God, who indeed wished to put on and raise the fallen man who is composed of a body and of an immortal and rational soul, so that "as by one man sin entered the world, and death by sin, so also the free gift and the grace of God by the righteousness of one man might abound unto many."<sup>1</sup> As death was by man so also the resurrection from the dead (will be) by man, because "as we all die in Adam, even so in Christ shall all be made alive,"<sup>2</sup> as the blessed Paul testifies. Therefore it was necessary that He should assume not only the body but also the immortal and rational soul; and not only the death of the body had to cease but also that of the soul, which is sin. Since according to the sentence of the blessed (Paul) sin entered the world through man, and death entered through sin, it was necessary that sin which was the cause of death should have first been abolished, and then the abolition of death would have followed by itself. If sin were not abolished we would have by necessity remained in mortality, and we would have sinned in our mutability; and when we sin, we are under punishment, and consequently the power of death will by necessity remain.

It was, therefore, necessary that sin should have first been abolished, as after its abolition there would be no entry for death. It is indeed clear that the strength of the sin<sup>3</sup> has its origin in the will of the soul. In the case of Adam also it was his soul which first accepted the advice of error and not his body, because it was not his body that Satan persuaded to yield to him, to forsake God and to believe that his Helper was a deceiver in his desire for higher things; and in following the advice of Satan he transgressed the commandment of God and chose for himself those things which were contrary to the commandment of God. It was not his body that had to know these things but his soul which, on the promise of higher things, yielded and accepted the advice of the deceiver and lost the good things that it possessed.

<sup>1</sup> Rom. v. 12, 15 and 17.

<sup>2</sup> 1 Cor. xv. 22.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. 1 Cor. xv. 56.

It was, therefore, necessary that Christ should assume not only the body but also the soul. The enemy of the soul had to be removed first and then that of the body, because if death is from sin and the same death is the corruption of the body, sin would have first to be abolished and the abolition of death would follow by itself.

It would be possible to save the body from death and corruption if we first made the soul immutable and delivered it from the passions of sin, so that by acquiring immutability we would also obtain deliverance from sin. The abolition of death would then be effected by the abolition of sin, and after the abolition of death our body would remain without dissolution and corruption. If the soul had only sinned in those things that befall it from the passions of the body, it would perhaps have been sufficient for our Lord to have assumed only the body in order to deliver (the soul) from sin. Many, however, and of different kinds are the iniquities and sins that are born of the soul. The first (sin) through which it shows its association with Satan is that of pride, because the Apostle has shown that any one who falls into pride becomes the associate of the Devil in condemnation.<sup>1</sup> The one, therefore, who possesses the uncorporeal Devil in his evil thought, feels passion in his soul; and consequently it is clearly evident that the soul was greatly in need to be delivered from sins and be saved also from the passions of the body which overcome it by the power that the latter adequately possesses.

The blessed Paul bears witness to our words when he counts the evils to which men were drawn, to which they degraded themselves and from which Christ came into the world to deliver them; he says thus: "Wherefore God gave them over to a reprobate mind to do that thing which is not convenient, being filled with all unrighteousness, wickedness, covetousness, fornication, maliciousness, envy, murder, debate, deceit, malignity; and are disobedient, implacable and unmerciful."<sup>2</sup> These (evils) are clear and evident and in no need of a comment, and the majority of them are not born of the passions of the body but exclusively of the will of the soul. Indeed wickedness, maliciousness, envy, debate, deceit and malignity, together with pride, boasting, invention of evil things, disobedience to parents, non-understanding, covenant-breaking, and unmercifulness—all these are clearly from the soul.

It is with justice, therefore, that our Lord assumed the soul so that

<sup>1</sup> Tim. iii. 6.

<sup>2</sup> Rom. i. 28-31.

it should be first delivered from sin and be transferred to immutability by the grace of God through which it overcomes also the passions of the body. When sin is abolished from every place and has no more entry into the soul which has become immutable, every kind of condemnation will rightly be abolished and death also will perish. The body will thus remain immune from death because it has received participation in immortality. The blessed Paul confirms this in saying : "There is therefore now no condemnation to them who are in Christ Jesus, who walk not after the flesh, for the law of life in Christ Jesus hath made thee free from the law of sin and death."<sup>1</sup>

He said that all the sentence of death,<sup>2</sup> together with all condemnation, has been removed to those who believed in Christ, because they became alien to the way of mortality and received the Spirit and immortality, and with it they assumed immutability and became completely free from sin and mortality. It is, therefore, great madness not to believe that Christ assumed the soul; and he would even be madder who would say that He did not assume human mind, because such a one would imply that He either did not assume the soul or that He did assume the soul not of man but an irrational one akin to that of animals and beasts.

Human soul differs only from that of animals in the fact that the latter has no distinct person<sup>3</sup> of the soul except in the (material) composition of the animal,<sup>4</sup> and so it has no separate existence, and is not believed to survive after the death of the animal. This is the reason why what is called the soul of the animal, which is said to reside in its blood,<sup>5</sup> perishes when the blood is shed; and it is the soul that was believed to reside in the person and in the movements of the animal. The soul of men, however, is not like this, but it resides in its own person and is much higher than the body, as the body is mortal and

<sup>1</sup> Rom. viii. 1-2 where "me" for "thee."

<sup>2</sup> Cf. 2 Cor. i. 9.

<sup>3</sup> I.e., personality, existence. I prefer here also to use the word "person" (in Syr. *Kenōma*) which is probably a translation of the Greek *ὑπόστασις* in order to preserve the nature and the character of the theological terms used in the fourth century.

<sup>4</sup> I.e., as long as the animal *quod* animal, is alive.

<sup>5</sup> The ancients believed the soul of the animal to reside in the blood. See Barsalibi's *treatise against the Armenians*. vol. iv., p. 33 of my *Woodbrooke Studies*, and 'Ali Tabari's *Book of Religion and Empire*, p. 82 of my edition. Cf. Aristotle, *De anima*, i. 2, and Levit. xvii. 18.

acquires its life from the soul and dies and perishes whenever the soul happens to leave it. As to the soul, when it goes out it remains and does not perish but lasts forever in its own person because it is immortal and is incapable of receiving any injury<sup>1</sup> in its nature from men. When (Christ) said : "Fear not them which kill the body but are not able to kill the soul,"<sup>2</sup> He clearly showed that the body is capable of death because it is mortal, but that the soul will remain immortal because it cannot be injured by men in its nature.

The difference between the soul of men and the soul of animals is such that the latter is irrational and has no person,<sup>3</sup> while the former is immortal and is rightly believed to be also rational. Who is, therefore, so mad and devoid of human understanding as to assert that human soul is without knowledge and without reason, unless he wishes to be a teacher of a novel theory not found previously in the world to the effect that there exists an immortal nature which lives in an imperishable life but which is itself irrational ? Such a thing is indeed impossible, because anything that is immortal in its nature and dwells in an imperishable life is also truly rational and endowed with reason.

Because of all this our blessed Fathers warned us and said : *He was incarnate and became a man*, so that we should believe that the one who was assumed and in whom God the Word dwelt was a complete man, perfect in everything that belongs to human nature, and whose essence was composed of a mortal body and a rational soul, because it is for man and for his salvation that He came down from heaven.

They rightly said that He assumed a man who resembles<sup>4</sup> those from whom He was assumed, because the man whom He assumed resembles Adam who introduced sin into the world, so that He might abolish sin by one who was of the same nature. Indeed, He put on a man resembling Adam who after having sinned received the punishment of death, so that He might eradicate sin from us and abolish death by similar means. When He said : "The prince of this world cometh, and hath nothing in me,"<sup>5</sup> He showed that such was the reason for His resurrection from the dead, because Satan was holding

<sup>1</sup> Lit. Receiving anything.

<sup>2</sup> Lit. person of the soul.

<sup>3</sup> John xiv. 30.

<sup>4</sup> Matt. x. 28.

<sup>5</sup> Possibly : because he resembles.

the reins of the power of death on account of the sin that was cleaving to us, as Paul said,<sup>1</sup> and was always encompassing<sup>2</sup> His death.

And because when we were subjected to sin<sup>3</sup> we had no hope of deliverance, the grace of God kept that man whom God put on for us free from sin, but Satan came with his deceitfulness and brought death upon Him as upon (any other) man, when he roused the Jews against Him ; and since He was not touched by sin which would subject Him to death, Christ our Lord received also upon Himself the death which with great wickedness Satan brought upon Him. He showed to God that there was no sin in Him and that it was through injustice that He was enduring the pains of death. And He effected<sup>4</sup> the abolition of condemnation with ease, and He rose from the dead by the power of God and became worthy of a new and ineffable life which He generalised to all the human kind.

This is the reason why our Lord said here : "The prince of this world cometh, and hath nothing in me." In another passage He said : "Now is the judgment of this world : now shall the prince of this world be condemned and cast out, and I when I am lifted up from the earth will draw all (men) unto me."<sup>5</sup> In the first passage He shows that Satan had not one just cause for bringing death upon Him, and in the second that He had summoned the Rebel to a kind of judgment<sup>6</sup> where he had condemned him and cast him out of his iniquitous power, and that after obtaining these good things He would make all men partakers of His glory.

Our blessed Fathers said that He became incarnate so that you might understand that He assumed a complete man, who was a man not only in appearance but a man in a true human nature, and that you might believe that He assumed not only the body but the whole man who is composed of a body and of an immortal and rational soul. It is such a man that He assumed for our salvation and it is through Him that He effected salvation for our life, because He was justified and became blameless by the power of the Holy Spirit, as the blessed Paul said : "He was justified in the Spirit,"<sup>7</sup> and again : "Who

<sup>1</sup> Rom. v. 21.

<sup>2</sup> Note the use of the verb *ethkayyal*.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. Rom. vi. 17, etc.

<sup>4</sup> Lit. received.

<sup>5</sup> John xii. 31-32.

<sup>6</sup> Lit. "that He had a kind of judgment with the Rebel."

<sup>7</sup> 1 Tim. iii. 16.



through the eternal Spirit offered Himself without spot to God."<sup>1</sup> If He suffered death according to the law of men, because He had no sin He rose from the dead by the power of the Holy Spirit and became worthy of a new life in which the wishes of the soul are immutable, and He made the body immortal and incorruptible.<sup>2</sup> In this He made us all participants in His promises, and as an earnest of His promises He gave us the first-fruits of the Spirit<sup>3</sup> so that we might possess a faith without doubts concerning future things; and "He established us with you in Christ and sealed us and gave the earnest of His spirit in our hearts."<sup>4</sup>

We also expect to be immortal and incorruptible at the resurrection from the dead when there will be no entry for sin into us. The blessed Paul bears witness to this in saying: "For this corruptible must put on incorruption, and this mortal immortality; and when this corruptible shall have put on incorruption, and this mortal immortality, there shall be brought to pass the saying that is written, 'Death is swallowed up in victory. O death, where is thy sting? O grave, where is thy victory? The sting of death is sin, and the strength of sin is the law.'<sup>5</sup> He means that when we have risen from the dead immortal and incorruptible and our nature has received immutability, we shall be unable to sin, and when we have been freed from sin we shall not need the law. Indeed what is the need of the law for a nature which is freed from sin and which has no inclination towards evil.

Well did the blessed Paul say after these: "Who gave us the victory through our Lord Jesus Christ."<sup>6</sup> This shows that it is God who was for us the source of all good things, and it is He who gave us the victory over all adversaries, either death or sin or any other evil born of them: He who for us put on the man our Lord Jesus and transferred Him through His resurrection from the dead to a new life, and placed Him at His right hand, and gave us by His grace

<sup>1</sup> Heb. ix. 14.

<sup>2</sup> This passage is also quoted in the Acts of the Fifth Council (Mansi, ix. 218). It is again stated in this Council that it is culled from Theodore's work *ad baptizandos* instead of the present work. See the "Prefatory Note."

<sup>3</sup> Rom. viii. 23.

<sup>4</sup> 1 Cor. xv. 53-56.

<sup>5</sup> 2 Cor. i. 21-22.

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.*, 57.

communion with Him,<sup>1</sup> when as the blessed Paul rightly said : "our vile body shall be changed and be fashioned like unto His glory."<sup>2</sup>

Because the things said by our blessed Fathers concerning the humanity of our Lord are many let us put an end here to our teaching of to-day, and let us praise the Father, the Son and the Holy Spirit now, always, and for ever and ever.

*Here ends the fifth chapter.*

<sup>1</sup> This passage is also quoted in the Acts of the Fifth Council (Mansi, ix. 218). It is again stated in this Council that it is excerpted from Theodore's work *ad baptizandos* instead of the present work. See the "Prefatory Note."

<sup>2</sup> Phil. iii. 21.







































































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اَوَسَفَ لَمَن مِّنْ ذٰلِكَ اَلَّذِي يَمْلِكُ فِتْنَةً يُمَسِّكُ  
 اَوْ يَمْسِكُ اَمْنًا مِّنْ رَّعْدَةٍ يَمْحُو مَن يَشَاءُ لَّا يُغْنِي عَنْهُمْ  
 كِبٰرُ سِنِيَ اُولٰٓئِكَ اَلَّذِينَ يَلْعَنُوْنَ اَمَّا يَوْمَ يَمَسُّ  
 لَمَنَ لَّا يَلْمِزُ اَنفُسًا يَوْمَ لَا يُغْنِي عَنْهُمْ كِبٰرُ سِنِيَ  
 وَلَا هُمْ يُنصَرُونَ اَمَّا يَوْمَ يَنفَعُ اَلَّذِي هُوَ  
 يَمْلِكُ اَمْنًا مِّنْ رَّعْدَةٍ يَمْحُو مَن يَشَاءُ لَّا يُغْنِي  
 عَنْهُمْ كِبٰرُ سِنِيَ وَلَا هُمْ يُنصَرُونَ اَمَّا يَوْمَ يَنفَعُ  
 اَلَّذِي هُوَ يَمْلِكُ اَمْنًا مِّنْ رَّعْدَةٍ يَمْحُو مَن يَشَاءُ  
 لَّا يُغْنِي عَنْهُمْ كِبٰرُ سِنِيَ وَلَا هُمْ يُنصَرُونَ اَمَّا  
 يَوْمَ يَنفَعُ اَلَّذِي هُوَ يَمْلِكُ اَمْنًا مِّنْ رَّعْدَةٍ  
 يَمْحُو مَن يَشَاءُ لَّا يُغْنِي عَنْهُمْ كِبٰرُ سِنِيَ وَلَا  
 هُمْ يُنصَرُونَ

همه و من مظلّم و سقّی و من لایزال و جزا. جزا  
جزا و من ازین لا و من عسجد و لا ایضا و عسجد ایضا  
محمّد: امر و من و محمّد و من عسجد و عسجد  
محمّد: لا جزا عسجد و من ایضا و جزا عسجد  
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<sup>1</sup> Cod., *حاصل*



































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<sup>1</sup> Cod., , but corrected in the same hand on the margins into 





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حلالها و حلال بعد من بعد فعلها : و ب الحمد و الحمد  
 مع سلفها و فعلها في ذلك مع سلفها و الحمد : و الحمد  
 و ب ان حلال و حلال : و حلال : و حلال : و حلال : <sup>2</sup>

.A;A/;













